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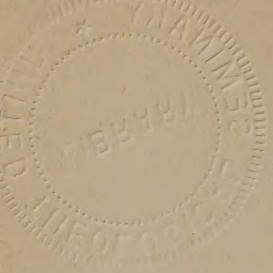

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

BACON, B. W., The 'Son of Man' in the Usage of Jesus . . . 143
BARTON, G. A., On the Trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrin . . 205
— The Use of ΕΠΙΤΙΜΑΝ in Mark 8 30 and 3 12 . . . 233
BERRY, G. R., The Date of Ezekiel 38 1—39 20 224
FULLERTON, K., Viewpoints in the Discussion of Isaiah's Hopes for the Future 1
GINZBERG, L., Some Observations on the Attitude of the Synagogue towards the Apocalyptic-Eschatological Writings . . 115
PETERS, J. P., Jr., Selected Bibliography of John Punnett Peters . 246
PFEIFFER, R. H., Cherubim 249
PORTER, F. C., The Place of Apocalyptical Conceptions in the Thought of Paul 183
SCHMIDT, N., The Origin of Jewish Eschatology 102
SCOTT, E. F., The Place of Apocalyptical Conceptions in the Mind of Jesus 137
TORREY, C. C., "Nineveh" in the Book of Tobit 237
VON DOBSCHÜTZ, E., Zeit und Raum im Denken des Urchristentums 212

Proceedings, December 1921 i
List of Members xv
List of Subscribing Libraries and Exchanges xxv
Constitution and By-Laws xxix

MAR 20 1965

VIEWPOINTS IN THE DISCUSSION OF ISAIAH'S HOPES FOR THE FUTURE[1]

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INTRODUCTION

IN reading Schweitzer's *Quest of the Historical Jesus* some years ago, I was struck by the analogy between the problem of the significance of Jesus and the problem of the significance of Isaiah. The two schools of thought which have followed different paths in the quest of the historical Jesus have followed different paths in the quest of the historical Isaiah. According to one of these schools, the controlling interest both of Jesus and Isaiah is eschatological, supernaturalistic, even apocalyptic; according to the other, it is ethical and spiritual. It is an easy charge for the eschatologists to make that the rival interpretation is only an attempt to modernize Jesus and the prophets, to make their teachings intelligible to the modern man and serviceable to the needs of modern life. The ethical school might retort that the eschatologists, in the laudable desire not to subordinate historical research to the practical interests of the present, have

[1] The Introduction and Second Part of the present essay, now somewhat expanded, were given as the Presidential Address before the Society at its annual meeting in December, 1921. The essay seeks to present a resumé of the more important points of view in Isaiah-research, but a resumé which is at the same time an argument, and which suggests a conclusion. Naturally, however, even in the exceptionally roomy space which has been so generously allotted to me in the JOURNAL, the exegetical basis of the argument could not be introduced except in a few more important instances. I hope some day to make good this deficiency in another connection.

become so obsessed by the alien idiom in which the timeless truths of the spiritual world are expressed as to ignore these eternal truths themselves; the fascination of a foreign tongue, the curiosity which it excites, have proved too much for them. These mutual recriminations get us nowhere, except in so far as they warn us of the necessity constantly to correct our personal equations—the most necessary, as it is the most difficult, thing for a historical investigator to do. In the case of Isaiah, the neo-critical school,[2] which has dominated Isaiah research during the past generation, has in general inclined to the ethical and spiritual interpretation of the prophet, though with one notable exception. Duhm has always contended for a theory of the prophet's significance, which, while by no means ignoring the ethical and spiritual elements in his teachings, has greatly emphasized the eschatological and supernatural. Of course, the scholars of conservative convictions have always rejoiced in the eschatological interpretation, for it is supposed to do justice to the Messianic idea in prophecy which has played the leading role in ecclesiastical exegesis of the Old Testament. In recent years the conservative positions have been supported from a most unexpected quarter. The archaeological school[3] of criticism, represented especially by Gunkel and Gressmann, has done much, it is claimed, to strengthen the conservative defense of the genuineness of certain prophecies attributed to Isaiah, in which the eschatological element is especially prominent, and upon which the attack of the neo-critical school has been most

[2] By the neo-critical school is meant that group of scholars who accept in general the principles of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis and who, starting with the rejection of the Babylonian and kindred prophecies in Isaiah (cc. 12; 13 1—14 23; 21 1-10; 24—27; 34; 35) have steadily advanced to more drastic eliminations. The neo-critical movement was initiated by Stade in a series of articles on Zechariah in the ZATW 1881—84; it received its greatest impetus from Duhm's great commentary on Isaiah in 1892.

[3] I select the name "archaeological school" because it is chosen by Gressmann, himself, to differentiate his method of investigation from that of the neo-critical school. (See *Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, pp. 2, 246.) The significance of this designation will appear in the sequel.

determined. But I would warn conservative friends to fear the Trojans bearing gifts. Sellin, however, who has been the quickest to perceive the new strategy provided by the archaeological school for the defense of the conservative position and who has made the shrewdest use of it, claims that the neo-critical school has not only failed to carry this new system of defense, but has failed even to make the attempt to do so. This accusation has a certain measure of truth in it. The debate between the two schools of interpretation, which was beginning to be so interesting just before the war, was prorogued indefinitely. Little, at least little that has been accessible to me, has been done to meet Sellin's challenge.[4]

[4] For Sellin's challenge see *Der A. T. Prophetismus*, p. 111. The following Bibliography does not claim to be exhaustive, but it aims to give a list of those works which have contributed directly to the following discussion.

Commentaries.

1724. Vitringa, Commentarius in librum prophetiarum Jesaiae.
1779—'81. Koppe, Jesaias.
1821. Gesenius, Der Prophet Jesaia.
1833. Hitzig, Der Prophet Jesaja.
1867. Ewald, Propheten des Alten Bundes. 2. Ausg.
1872. Knobel, Der Prophet Jesaia. 4. Ausg. (revised by Diestel).
1884. Cheyne, The Prophecies of Isaiah. 5. Ed., 1889.
1887. Bredenkamp, Der Prophet Jesaia.
1887. Orelli, Die Propheten Jesaja und Jeremia.
1889. Delitzsch, Commentar über das Buch Jesaia. 4. Aufl.
1890. Dillmann, Der Prophet Jesaia. 2. Aufl. (Kittel), 1898.
1892. Duhm, Das Buch Jesaia. 2. Aufl., 1902; 4. Aufl., 1914.
1895. Cheyne, Introduction to the Book of Isaiah.
1896. Skinner, Book of the Prophet Isaiah (Cambridge Bible). 2. Ed., 1915.
1897. Geo. Adam Smith, The Book of Isaiah (Expositors Bible).
1900. Marti, Das Buch Jesaja.
1905. Whitehouse, Isaiah (New Century Bible).
1911. Wade, Isaiah (Westminster Commentaries).
1912. Gray, Isaiah (International Critical Commentary).
1915. Hans Schmidt, Jesaia (Schriften des A. T. in Auswahl).

General Works, Monographs and Special Articles.

1875. Duhm, Theologie der Propheten.
1882. Robertson Smith, Prophets of Israel. 2. Ed., 1895.
1881—'84. Stade, Deuterozacharja and miscellaneous articles.

It is one of the aims of this address to examine the Gunkel-Gressmann theories and methods as applied to Isaiah. Have these men furnished a really adequate basis for the defense of

1881—'85. Stade, Geschichte des Volkes Israel. Vol. I; Vol. II, 1888.
1884. Cornill, Composition des Buches Jesaia. ZATW, pp. 83—105.
1884. Smend, Über die Bedeutung des Tempels. STK, p. 689 ff.
1885. Guthe, Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaias.
1885. Sörensen, Juda und die Assyrische Weltmacht (Chemnitzer Programm).
1886. Wellhausen, Prolegomena z. Geschichte Israels. 3. Ausg. Chapters I and XI, especially.
1888. Driver, Isaiah, his Life and Times (Men of the Bible).
1888. Giesebrecht, Die Immanuel-Weissagung. STK.
1890. Giesebrecht, Beiträge z. Jesajakritik.
1892. Kuenen, Historisch-kritische Einleitung etc. Deutsche Ausg.
1892. Winckler, Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen. pp. 26—49 (On the Isaiah Narratives).
1893. Hackmann, Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia.
1895. Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit.
1895. Porter, A Suggestion regarding Isaiah's Immanuel. JBL, pp. 19—36.
1897. Brückner, Die Composition des Buches Jesaia. cc. 28—33.
1897. Volz, Die Vorexilische Prophetie und der Messias.
1898. Meinhold, Die Jesaiaerzählungen.
1899. Smend, Lehrbuch der A. T. Religionsgeschichte. 2. Aufl.
1901. Sellin, Studien z. Entstehungsgeschichte d. Jüdischen Gemeinde.
1902. Boehmer, Der ATliche Unterbau des Reiches Gottes.
1902. Nagel, Der Zug des Sanherib gegen Jerusalem.
1902. Nowack, Die Zukunftshoffnungen Israels in der Assyrischen Zeit (Festschrift Holtzmann's, p. 33 ff.).
1902. Procksch, Geschichtsbetrachtung und Geschichtliche Überlieferung bei den Vorexilischen Propheten.
1903. Gunkel, Forschungen z. Religion und Literatur des Alten u. Neuen Testaments.
1903. Meinhold, Der heilige Rest. Studien z. Israelitischen Religionsgeschichte, Bd. I.
1903. Prášek, Sanherib's Feldzüge gegen Judah.
1904. Kautzsch, Religion of Israel. H. D. B. extra Vol.
1905. Stade, Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments.
1905. Wilke, Jesaja und Assur.
1906. Gressmann, Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie.
1906. Kennett, The Prophecy in Is. 9 1-7. Journal of Theological Studies (April).

those prophecies in the first thirty-nine chapters against which the neo-critical school has delivered its most formidable attacks?

In order to understand the strategy of the defense it is

1906. Küchler, Die Stellung des Propheten Jesaia z. Politik seiner Zeit.
1907. Guthe, Jesaia, Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher.
1908. Baentsch, Prophetie und Weissagung. ZWTh, p. 457 ff.
1908. Caspari, Echtheit, Hauptbegriff u. Gedankengang der Messianischen Weissagung. Is. 9 1-7.
1908. Oesterley, Evolution of the Messianic Idea.
1908. Staerk, Das Assyrische Weltreich im Urtheil der Propheten.
1908. Westphal, Jahweh's Wohnstätten.
1909. Herrmann, Der Messias aus Davids Geschlecht. ZWTh, p. 260 ff.
1909. Kittel, Geschichte des Volkes Israels. Bd. II, 2. Ausg.
1910. Kennett, Composition of the Book of Isaiah.
1910. Sellin, Einleitung in d. Alte Testament. 2. Aufl., 3. Aufl., 1920.
1912. Sellin, Der Alttestamentliche Prophetismus.
1914. Beer, Zur Zukunftserwartung Jesajas (Festschrift Wellhausen, pp. 15—35).
1914. Buttenwieser, The Prophets of Israel.
1914. Dittmann, Der heilige Rest im A. T. STK.
1914. Hölscher, Die Propheten.
1914. J. M. P. Smith, שאר ישוב, ZATW, pp. 219—224.
1914. Wellhausen, Israelitische u. Jüdische Geschichte. 7. Ausg., Nachdruck, 1919.
1915. König, Geschichte der Alttestamentlichen Religion.
1916. Duhm, Israels Propheten.
1917. Louise B. Smith, The Messianic Ideal of Isaiah. JBL, pp. 158—172.
1918. Mitchell, Isaiah on the Fate of his People and their Capital. JBL, p. 149 ff.
1919. Sachsse, Die Propheten des A. T. und ihre Gegner.
1920. Aytoun, The Rise and Fall of the Messianic Hope in the Sixth Century. JBL, pp. 24—43.
1920. Feigin, The Meaning of Ariel. JBL, pp. 131—137.
1920. Reisner, Discoveries in Ethiopia. Harvard Theological Review, pp. 23—44.

To the above list I append the following articles of my own which have immediately to do with the subject:

1905. A New Chapter in the Life of Isaiah. AJTh (Oct.).
1906. The Invasion of Sennacherib. Bibliotheca Sacra, Oct.
1907. Shebna and Eliakim. A Reply to Professor König. AJTh, July.
1913. The Book of Isaiah. Harvard Theological Review, Oct.
1916. Isaiah's earliest Prophecy against Ephraim. AJSL, April.

necessary to understand the strategy of the attack. Our study falls, therefore, into two main divisions, the presentation of the neo-critical thesis, and the presentation of the 'archaeological' antithesis. But within each of these two main divisions we discover two subdivisions. The neo-critical school directs its attack from a common base of operations, namely the general position of criticism represented by Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*. But it soon develops that there are two very different attacking columns, one led by Duhm and the other by Stade. The one champions the eschatological interpretation, the other the ethical and spiritual. The 'archaeological' school carries on its defense, if we may elaborate our military figure a little farther, by a flanking movement. It, too, occupies Wellhausen territory, but in the rear of the enemy, and it seeks to turn, very ingeniously, the tactics of the neo-critical forces against themselves. Sellin represents an independent unit within the defensive positions of the 'archaeologists'. The struggle thus appears to be a sort of four-cornered one and presents much the same impression of confusion as the melée in which Jonathan and the Philistines were involved at the pass of Michmash, and which 'melted away hither and thither' before the eyes of Saul.

Fortunately for our purposes there is a considerable acreage of what may be called neutral territory upon which the clashing forces have agreed to meet on equal terms. In the first place there is a fairly large amount of material which is admitted on all hands to be genuine. This material is found in the prophecies of doom. It is sufficient in amount to permit of reasonably secure conclusions as to Isaiah's general style, and as to some of the ideas in which he was most profoundly interested. The doom prophecies, therefore, furnish invaluable criteria for the

1916. Studies in Isaiah. JBL, pp. 134—142.
1918. The Problem of Is. Chap. X. AJSL, April.
1918. Immanuel. AJSL, July.
1920. The Stone of the Foundation. AJSL, Oct.
1921. The Problem of Isaiah. Journal of Religion, May.

In what follows the above mentioned books and articles are usually referred to simply by the name of the author, except where a more precise reference to the particular work is necessary in order to avoid confusion.

discussion of the disputed prophecies. Again, the outlines of the larger historical background of Isaiah's age are now, thanks to the monuments, fairly clear. Yet in two important particulars there is still, unfortunately, room for debate. The first of these concerns the year of Hezekiah's accession, the second and more pressing question is: What really happened in 701? The first point bears upon the question: When did the pro-Assyrian policy of Ahaz change to the anti-Assyrian policy of Hezekiah, and that in turn upon the question of the circumstances under which Isaiah delivered a number of his threats. The problem of what happened in 701 is the central problem of Isaiah. Were Isaiah's promises vindicated at that time, or his threats? This at once raises the question of the relationship of Isaiah's hopes to his threats.

As I have brought out elsewhere,[5] there are four great doctrines in the first thirty-nine chapters which have been supposed to express Isaiah's hopes for the future: the doctrines of the Day of the Lord, of the Remnant, of the Messianic King, and of the Inviolability of Zion. The first of these is allied more closely to the threats, the second hovers between the threats and the hopes, the last two are the great expressions of hope. The first two doctrines are unanimously admitted to be genuine elements in Isaiah's teaching. It must, therefore, be borne in mind in all that follows that the genuineness of one important element of hope, namely the doctrine of the Remnant, is conceded. It is around the question of the genuineness of the second pair of ideas that the battle has raged most fiercely. The doctrine of the Messianic King is found by the great majority of scholars in the two prophecies of the Wondrous Child and the Twig of Jesse,[6] and by some in the two Immanuel passages, 8 8 and 7 14. The doctrine of the inviolability of Zion is either expressed or implied in the great anti-Assyrian group of prophecies.[7] Our

[5] Harvard Theological Review, Oct., 1913.

[6] 9 2-7 and 11 1ff. 32 1ff. and 33 17 need not be considered, as the specifically Messianic interpretation of these passages is now generally given up.

[7] The anti-Assyrian prophecies may be divided into three groups 1) Those found in cc. 6—8 (the Syro-Ephraimitic prophecies), i. e. 8 9f.

first task, therefore, is to trace the fortunes of these two groups of prophecies at the hands of the neo-critical school.

PART I

THE NEO-CRITICAL SCHOOL

The gradual Elimination of the Messianic and anti-Assyrian Prophecies and the Concentration upon the ethical and spiritual Elements in the Teachings of Isaiah.

I. Wellhausen, Smend, and Robertson Smith.

In the earliest stage of the neo-critical development, the Messianic and anti-Assyrian prophecies were accepted unquestioningly as genuine. This phase may be best represented by Wellhausen in his *Prolegomena*, and by his two disciples, Smend in Germany and Robertson Smith in England.[8] If a composite picture of the views of these scholars may be drawn, ignoring differences in detail, it would be something as follows. 1) The first and chiefest characteristic of eighth century prophecy is its supreme emphasis upon the doom of the nation. "Only you have I known out of all the families of the earth; therefore I will

2) Those found in cc. 28—32 (the anti-Egyptian prophecies) 29 5-8; 30 27-33; 31 5-9.

3) Those independent of their contexts:
   a) Brief prophecies, 14 24-27; 17 12-14 (cf. 8 9 f.; 29 5-8)
   b) Longer prophecies: 10 5-34; c. 18; c. 33; 37 22 ff. (this last embedded in the Isaiah narratives).

4) To these anti-Assyrian prophecies may be added certain others in which the inviolability of Zion has been supposed to be expressed or implied: 14 28-32; 28 16; and c. 6; 8 18 in both of which the temple is prominent. It is important to notice that at 8 9 f.; 17 12-14; 29 5-8 and in cc. 18 and 33 Assyria is not mentioned by name, and in all but c. 18 "many nations" or "all nations" or "peoples" appear in its place. In 14 24-27 "all nations" are mentioned along with Assyria. This subordinate group will be hereafter referred to as "the many-nations" group.

[8] See *Prolegomena*; Smend, *Lehrbuch der ATlichen Religionsgeschichte*; and Smith, *Prophets of Israel.*

visit upon you all your iniquities."[9] This threat of national destruction has for its major premise a rigorously ethical conception of Jahweh and for its minor premise the fact of the nation's sin. The inevitable conclusion is national doom. 2) But such a conclusion is, in turn, the beginning of a new premise, namely, that religion must be dissociated from nationalism. A god who can destroy his own people in the interest of an ethical ideal is a god whose interests are not confined to his people. The religion of the prophets thus becomes incipiently universalistic; monotheism begins to develop. A fundamentally ethical god and a fundamentally national god have nothing really in common.[10] 3) Yet the judgment upon the nation is not an end in itself. It is only a means to an end. Beyond the judgment there is hope. But the circumstances in which the early prophets labored demanded warnings rather than comforts. Hence threats predominated in their prophecies over promises. 4) But in what forms did hope express itself? In the case of Isaiah, principally in two forms: in the doctrine of the Messianic king and in the doctrine of the inviolability of Zion.

A. Isaiah was the first prophet whom we know of to cherish the idea of a Davidic Messiah. As the breakdown of the monarchy during the Assyrian wars became steadily more obvious and more painfully felt, it was natural for the people to look back to the good old days of David and Solomon and to wish for their return. Is. 1 21–26, though not referring specifically to the Messianic king, is fundamental to the Wellhausen interpretation. The Messianic hope takes on the historical character of a hope for a restored kingdom. The Messianic kingdom is to be the continuation of the old Davidic monarchy. "The kingdom of God is for Isaiah absolutely identical with the kingdom of David."[11] The duties Isaiah ascribes to the Messiah are of political nature, such duties as one would demand today of the Turkish government. He is to give victory over the nation's enemies and to administer justice.[12] Such a hope could

[9] Amos 3 2.
[10] Cf. Smend, pp. 185, 193, 196, 199.
[11] *Proleg.* 434. Cf. R. Smith, 257, 302, 313.
[12] *Proleg.*, l. c.; Smend, 235, n. 2.

have naturally arisen, it is claimed, only in the eighth century. It could not have arisen *before* the monarchy, because it was attached to the monarchy. It could not have arisen *after* the fall of the monarchy in the post-exilic period, for at that time the hopes of the future became detached from history. The condition of the people scattered in exile no longer suggested a continuity in the political life of the nation. The hopes for the future now took on an eschatological character. The miraculous entered in. Furthermore, the particular hope of a Messianic King was no longer cherished, because another ideal had taken its place. The idea of the theocracy had, by this time, largely supplanted the idea of the kingdom (cf. Deuteronomy and P.); the church-state had supplanted the state-church and nationalism had succumbed to ecclesiasticism. Hence the doctrine of the Messiah could scarcely have originated at that time.[13] But if this doctrine could not have originated before the monarchy had arisen or after its fall, and must have sprung up sometime during its existence, there was no time so favorable for its birth as the eighth century. The Messianic hope was the natural antithesis to the Assyrian disaster.

In this construction four things stand out. (1) The rise of the Messianic hope is psychologically explained. The importance of this fact will appear hereafter.[14] (2) The Wellhausen view emphasizes the historical and ethical element in the Messianic figure. The supernatural is everywhere eliminated. 11 6 ff. is reduced to poetry and rhetoric. Continuity between the present and the future is insisted upon. The Messianic King is an ideal king, but the ideal is quite attainable. The charism which descends upon the Messiah (11 1 ff.) is not different from that which descended upon the ancient worthies except in its completeness and permanence.[15] "In his so-called Messianic prophecies Isaiah does not paint dream pictures of the future greatness and glory of his people for the realization of which there was not the smallest prospect, but sets up a goal which is or should be attainable in the present. The strong and just king

[13] This argument was worked out especially by Wellhausen, *Proleg.* 439.

[14] See Part II.

[15] Smith, 304.

David's line in whose coming he hopes has nothing shadowy
out him, and nothing is attributed to him which passes beyond
e range of possibility under the conditions existing in Judah
that time."[16] This insistence upon the ethical and the historical
the figure of the Messiah is consistent with the emphasis upon
ese elements in the prophets generally, which is so character-
ic of the neo-critical school; whether it is exegetically defensible
the case of 9 1 ff. and 11 1 ff. is another question. But at
other point there is a latent discrepancy with the prophetic
eal. (3) How does the incipient breakdown of nationalism,
e to the supreme place which ethics plays in prophecy, consist
th the rehabilitation of nationalism involved in the Messianic
pe? Smend is quite conscious of this difficulty.[17] He therefore
lds that Isaiah's Messianic hope is no integral part of his
inking, a *merely passing phenomenon* in his life. Smend even
es so far as to suggest that it could not have originated with
aiah, but must have been earlier connected in some way with
e popular formulation of the doctrine of the Day of the Lord
a day of victory over Israel's enemies (Amos 5 18).[18] These
servations of Smend will play an important part in what
llows. (4) Lastly, it is rather significant that Wellhausen lays
his emphasis upon the view that the theocracy supplanted
e nationalistic ideal in the post-exilic period, and ignores
most entirely the very striking Messianic movement under
erubbabel. In treating of this movement he is concerned only
th the importance of the temple in it. This leads us to our
cond point, the doctrine of the inviolability of Zion.

[16] Well., *Geschichte*, 123. In his final edition of his history Well-
usen thus maintains the position originally adopted by him.

[17] "Under the pressure of the Assyrian domination and in sympathy
th the misfortune that had overtaken Israel in 734, there arose in
aiah a nationalistic feeling which appeared to have utterly died out
en he prophesied the doom of Israel at an earlier time. Again, that
e Messianic king should be a descendent of Jesse shows us that the
pectation of his coming grows out of the Jewish nationalistic feeling
the prophet." Smend, p. 232.

[18] Smend, 233; 235. Kautzsch also suggests the possibility of some
der prophecy underlying 2 Sam. 7, in which this hope is expressed
.D.B. Extra Vol. p. 695).

B. This doctrine we have found to be either expressed o implied in the anti-Assyrian prophecies which were accepte by all the early members of the neo-critical school with th exception of Stade. But why did Isaiah hold to the inviolabili of Zion? This was a difficult question. The inviolability of Zio would seem, at first sight, to imply its sanctity in the cult sens But this would not harmonize with Isaiah's known antipathy t the cult (1 10ff.; 29 13ff.), or with the supreme emphasis upo ethics in the prophetic message. Accordingly we find variou answers, all intended to avoid the cult implications of th doctrine of inviolability. Zion, it is claimed, has no significanc for Isaiah as a cult centre, but only as the seat of Jahweh kingship. It is not thought of as his altar-hearth, but as h throne.[19] But would such a distinction ever occur to an ancien even to an ancient prophet? Where does a deity manifest hin self, where does he dwell, if not at the *sanctuary*? Isaiah, hin self, saw Jahweh in the temple (c. 6). It is at this point, anywhere, that the Wellhausen view exposes itself most clear to the charge of modernizing the prophet. And further, does th inference of the inviolability of Zion as naturally flow from th idea of Zion as Jahweh's throne as it does from the idea Zion as Jahweh's altar? The thought of inviolability almo inevitably suggests the thought of sacrilege rather than th thought of *lèse majesté*, and sacrilege suggests the cult sign ficance of Zion. It is because these scholars feel this difficul that they resort to another reason to account for the inviolab ity of Zion? It is connected by them with the doctrine of th Remnant, in the very characteristic form of that doctri current in the neo-critical school. The idea of the Remna like the idea of the Messianic kingdom, is historicised a

[19] "We must not forget that the importance of Jerusalem in Isaia view did not depend upon the temple of Solomon, but on the fact th it was David's city and the focal point of his kingdom, the centre, n of the cult, but of the reign of Jahweh over his people. The holy mount was for him the whole city as a political commonwealth, with its citize advisers, judges (1 26). [Note that its priests are not referred to!] I faith in the immovable foundation stone (28 16) on which Zion stood v nothing but a faith in the living presence of Jahweh in Israel's cam (*Proleg.*, 25; for the same view see Smith, 361.)

oralized. The Remnant is the means by which continuity etween the present and the future is established. It is the link etween the two. It is a flesh and blood reality in history; it as a local habitation and a name. In essence it is the prophetic arty, which began to form originally around Isaiah in the erson of his immediate followers, gradually became con-olidated into the Reform party, and ultimately put through ne Deuteronomic law.[20]

But now the question would arise in Isaiah's mind, how is is Remnant upon whom his hopes became centered to be saved the approaching national disaster? The way of escape is ound in the preservation of Zion. Secure in an inviolable Zion, ne Remnant is able to weather the storm.[21] In this way the octrine of the inviolability of Zion, which can so easily be nterpreted in the non-moral terms of a taboo, also becomes noralized, and we arrive at a consistent interpretation of the Messiah, the Remnant, and the Inviolability of Zion, which mphasizes in each case the ethical and spiritual elements and ones down or entirely ignores the cult elements and the super-atural. But is this explanation of the doctrine of Zion's in-iolability quite convincing? In general the anti-Assyrian rophecies either simply *assume* that Zion is inviolable, without iving any reason for it, or actually express the thought of its ult sanctity, as at 29 5–8; 31 9; 18 7. The view that it is to be reserved in order to afford a refuge to the Remnant is a pure onstruction of these scholars.[22]

[20] See Well., *Geschichte*, 123ff.; Smend, 229 ("The Remnant was not n object of hope"); Smith, 275. The main reliance of these scholars for is conception of the Remnant is 8 11-18, and, indeed, the passage is of upreme importance.

[21] "The sanctity of Zion rests at bottom, in Isaiah's view, only on the act that in this place is the community of Jahweh" (Smend, 230). Because the community of Jahweh [the Remnant] is indestructible, the tate of Judah and the kingdom of the house of David cannot be utterly verthrown. The capital and the court appeared to him as the natural entre of the true Remnant" (Smith, 259; 289; cf. 263). This theory is orked out most fully in Meinhold's *Der heilige Rest.*

[22] The only two texts in Isaiah which by any possibility could be nterpreted to express such a thought are 14 32 and 28 16. The first of

It is interesting, also, to observe that Smith is not quit satisfied with this explanation and suggests that the doctrine o inviolability is connected with Isaiah's nationalism. Isaiah simpl could not believe that the state or its capital would fall. "Th sphere of Jehovah's purpose and the kingdom of Judah ar identical."[23] This means that the nation can no more b destroyed than can Jahweh's purposes be thwarted. But Isaiah could not emancipate himself from a nationalistic inter pretation of religion, is it so certain that he could rid himself o the idea of the ceremonial sanctity of Zion? When state an religion are one, the only way in which a national religion ca express itself is through some sort of a ceremonial. If we ru back the doctrine of inviolability to nationalism, it is, indeed difficult to avoid the connotation of ceremonial sanctity. If, o the other hand, Isaiah *does* abandon the idea of ceremonia sanctity, and there seems to be very strong reason to hold tha he did, is it not possible that he may have abandoned th nationalistic conception of religion with which the temple cu is so closely connected? In that case, did he, after all, teac the doctrine of inviolability? We have already seen how Smen felt the latent disagreement between the nationalistic doctrine o the Messianic King and the incipient breakdown of nationalis in the prophetic theology. We now seem to have uncovered, i the doctrine of the inviolability of Zion, another disagreemer of the same sort. Both doctrines, but particularly the latter on present difficulties in the way of the Wellhausen moralizin interpretation of Isaiah, *provided they are genuine elements i the prophet's teaching.* This leads to the work of Duhm an Stade.

these expresses the thought that the Remnant (the poor and the afflicte are saved because Zion is inviolable in itself, rather than the thoug that Zion is inviolable because of the Remnant. I waive the question o the genuiness of 14 28-32; but see Duhm and especially Buttenwiese JBL, 1917, p. 240 ff. The attempt to discover a Remnant at 28 16 (se especially, Meinhold, *Der Rest*, p. 133 ff.) is labor wasted (see the author article on *The Stone of the Foundation*).

[23] Smith, 263 f.

II. Duhm and Stade.

A. Duhm.

The significance of Duhm's work lies, first, in his peculiar nterpretation of the teachings of Isaiah, the man, and, secondly, n his theory of the revision of Isaiah, the book.[24] 1) Duhm's nterpretation of Isaiah's teachings is the exact reverse of the Wellhausen interpretation. Wellhausen lays all the emphasis ıpon the historical and the ethical, Duhm upon the supernatural, he religious. Wellhausen emphasizes the idea of continuity ɔetween the present and the future. The future is only an dealized present. Duhm insists upon the idea of discontinuity ɔetween them. He tells us expressly that Isaiah's "hope of the uture is *not* in the idealization of the present".[25] Isaiah did, ndeed, have the ethical interests which the other great eighth-entury prophets had; these were expressed in his prophecies ɔf woe. But his originality did not lie in them. It lay in his ıopes; and these hopes are religious as distinct from ethical, upernaturalistic as distinct from historical. In other words, saiah's importance lies in the fact that he is the *creator of schatology.*[26] The main proof of this thesis is found in the Messianic and anti-Assyrian prophecies. a) The Messiah is not merely human king, he is a miraculous figure. His enduement ɔy the spirit (11 1 f.) is a miraculous charism. The spirit does ot *become* the spirit of the king, that would be an ethical con-ɔeption; it *remains* Jahweh's spirit, that is a religious and upernatural idea. 11 3 does not refer to the ability to judge npartially, that again would be ethical; it refers to immediate ıtuition, due to the supernatural charism. The peace of nature ı 11 6–8 is not a mere play of fancy, not allegory, not even ymbol. It represents a real hope. It is to be noted that Duhm

[24] See his *Theologie der Propheten*, his great *Commentary*, and *Israel's Propheten*, 1916. Duhm's criticism went through a considerable evolution ı these works, but his interpretation, curiously enough, remained practic-ly the same.

[25] *Theologie*, 167.

[26] See, especially, his remarks at 1 17, and the additional statements ı ed. 3 at 18 4.

carefully avoids the word 'mythological' in his interpretation of vs. 6–8, though he is impressed with the non-Semitic character of the passage. Again, the child of 9 1–6 is surrounded with an atmosphere of marvel. He belongs to the eschatological wonder-world *after* the judgment. All this is the exact reverse of Wellhausen's position. It may be noted in passing that the Wellhausen interpretation of the Remnant is also denied by Duhm. The Remnant is no longer the link between the present and the future. It, too, belongs to the eschatological era. Isaiah does not appear at the head of a prophetic reform party. "In the new creation he has no share because he is only a man. As any other man, he can only wait for it with faith and longing. It is an absolute miracle of Jahweh, and from it all human cooperation is jealously excluded."[27] b) But the most remarkable proof of Isaiah's fondness for the supernatural is found in the anti-Assyrian prophecies. The struggle with Assyria takes on the character of a mighty duel between Jahweh and this arrogant world power. "In an instant, suddenly (29 5), when apparently just about to accomplish its designs, Assyria is struck down by Jahweh." The conception is that of the *deus ex machina*. "The emphasis upon the suddenness corresponds to the tendency of Isaiah's politics and eschatology as a whole; not the smallest part of the victory must be ascribed to the people. Jahweh alone shall be exalted in that day."[28] Perhaps the most characteristic expressions of this thought are found in c. 10 and in the Ariel prophecy 29 1–8, the last verses of which compare the vanishing of the enemy to the vanishing of a dream. This last passage in its original form is said to be written *mit echtjesaianischem Schwung und Feuer*. Accordingly, Duhm views the attempts to interpret Isaiah along the Wellhausen-Smend-Smith lines as illegitimate attempts to modernize him. It must be admitted

[27] See the remarks on c. 6. The passage is considerably toned down in the 3rd ed. The same idea is still expressed, though more cautiously, in *Israel's Propheten*, 202. The failure to give an adequate analysis of the Remnant idea in any of Duhm's work on Isaiah is very striking. In keeping with this is the slight attention paid to Is. 8 16-18. The passage is not even mentioned in the *Theologie*.

[28] See remarks at 29 1-8.

that if the Messianic and anti-Assyrian groups are accepted in their present forms as genuine, this criticism of Duhm is correct. Duhm's exegesis of these prophecies does far more justice to their peculiar features than Wellhausen's. This is particularly true in the case of cc. 28—32, where the abrupt transitions from doom to hope lend themselves very naturally to Duhm's conception of a sudden, miraculous deliverance. But at this point we arrive at the second great contribution which Duhm's commentary has to give.

2) While in his *Theologie* Duhm still accepts only the results of the stage of criticism represented by Ewald, in his *Commentary* he subjects the first thirty-nine chapters of Isaiah to the most thorough-going criticism to which they had as yet been exposed. The results are astonishing. Never before had the extent of the revision been so clearly seen, never before had its purpose been so clearly recognized. For the first time we have in Duhm's commentary a thought-through theory of the revision of Isaiah.[29] Duhm advances what may be called a fragmentary hypothesis of Isaiah. The book is a prophetic anthology. The connections between the various fragments are for the most part artificial and due to revision,[30] and particularly glaring instances of them are now found in cc. 28—32, the very chapters upon which Duhm had specially relied in his *Theologie* to prove the abruptness and hence the miraculousness of the transition from despair to deliverance. The revision was, for the most part, made in the late post-exilic period and in the interest of late Jewish eschatology. *The original prophecies of Isaiah are thus set in a great eschatological framework.*

But the supposition that Isaiah, the man, was the creator of eschatology on the one hand, and that Isaiah, the book, has been subjected to a late eschatological redaction on the other, creates

[29] Stade had already suggested the outlines of such a revision, ZATW, 1881, p. 170ff.; 1883, p. 3; and in his *Geschichte*, I. p. 186, n. 1, but Duhm was the first *systematically* to apply Stade's principles to Isaiah. Cornill's theory of revision (ZATW, 1884, p. 83ff.), which combines a principle of chronological arrangement with a principle of catch-words, is by no means adequate.

[30] In the delimitation of the fragments Duhm's theories of Hebrew poetry play a large part.

a rather delicate problem. How is the early eschatology of the original prophecies to be distinguished from the late eschatology of the redaction? Of course it is easy to say that Isaiah's eschatology represents the seed and the later eschatology the full-blown flower. But in the realm of ideas this distinction is not always so easy to make. What Duhm fails to do is to provide us with adequate criteria in all cases for making the nice distinctions necessary. When Duhm tells us that the eschatology of Isaiah is fluid and the later eschatology has hardened into dogma, this is only the prose interpretation of the seed and flower metaphor.[31] But this gets us nowhere. In what respect are 10 12 and 14 32 allusions to accepted dogmas, while 29 5-8 and 31 9 are not?[32] As a matter of fact, I get the impression from Duhm's criticism that he trusts largely to style and poetic power in making his decisions. On this basis alone he might very well reject such slovenly and opaque prophecies as 29 16–24 or c. 4 and accept such forcible fragments as 8 9 f. or 17 12–14. But, though the presence of a bad style, when one is dealing with such a master stylist as Isaiah, may be confidently accepted as a mark of spuriousness,[33] it by no means follows that the presence of a good style within cc. 1—39 is necessarily the mark of genuineness. Later authors were quite capable of writing with force and even with grandeur.[34] After all, from the point of view of the critical school one must fall back finally upon the all-important *criterion of ideas*, and in idea are the anti-Assyrian prophecies so different from the later eschatological prophecies as to enable us to affirm with confidence that the former are seed and the latter are flower?

At this point a very disturbing admission by Duhm is encountered. We have seen how, in the case of the Messianic

[31] See his remarks at 10 12; 29 16 ff.; 30 18.

[32] Attention was called to this difficulty in Duhm's position already in 1913, Harvard Theol. Rev., p. 492. It is of sufficient importance, I think, to be worth repeating.

[33] Of course, a good style may at times become splotched with corruptions of the text (see c. 2), but in general it is not so difficult to distinguish between a passage that has become opaque for this reason and a passage that is opaque because there is an opaque mind behind it.

[34] Compare c. 14 for example.

prophecies, Smend admits a lack of connection between them and Isaiah's most fundamental convictions, and how, in the case of the anti-Assyrian prophecies, the same lack of connection is seen in Smith's interpretations, though Smith himself does his best to avoid this admission. What is our surprise to find Duhm cheerfully conceding both groups of prophecies to be fundamentally out of touch with Isaiah's great sermons of doom. The main interest in the prophecies of doom is ethical; the main interest in the eschatological prophecies is religious. The former come with divine authority, a "thus saith the Lord"; the latter are Isaiah's own private affair! This view-point, which meets us already in the *Theologie*,[35] is maintained by Duhm, with only slight modifications, in the three editions of his *Commentary* and in his *Israel's Propheten*. In all three works the Messianic picture in cc. 9, 11 and 2 2–4 are treated as poetry rather than as prophecy, originally written, not spoken; not designed for the people, but for the heart of the poet himself and for his immediate followers.[36] It is quite in keeping with this theory to find that Duhm refuses to explain the figure of the Davidic Messiah in chapters 9 and 11 out of the internal or external conditions in Judah. It springs out of Isaiah's own thoughts and character and experiences. Duhm suggests that Isaiah's nearness to the court and his respect for the royal prerogatives, as seen in the Shebna prophecy, might account in part for the rise of the hope in a Davidic Messiah![37]

[35] The passage is so important that I cite it in full. It is the opening paragraph of the section on Isaiah's eschatology. "Though directly attached to the immediately prophetic discourses, to those, namely, which are concerned with the present people and present conditions, the discussions more especially of the future glory appear to be quite independent of them. Through the omission of the formula, "Thus saith the Lord", these [oracles] permit us to see that the prophet speaks more on his own authority and for his own benefit, and does not intend to give his free expressions the authority which belongs to the word of Jahweh ... It is important to observe that the predictions of Isaiah [Duhm has in mind particularly the Messianic passages] are his own private affair and have no divine authority for others" (p. 158).

[36] Cf. *Israel's Propheten*, p. 179.

[37] *Israel's Propheten*, 186. He does not discuss the origin of the conception either in the *Theologie* or the *Commentary*.

Here is a singular situation! The importance of Isaiah is found in the fact that he is the creator of eschatology, and yet this eschatology is almost completely out of touch with his prophetic activity and with the great ethical interests which seem to have controlled him as a prophet. Our surprise is not lessened when we find Duhm pointing out both in the *Theologie* and in the *Commentary* that this same material, which is so little related to Isaiah's prophetic interests, is very closely related to Ezekiel and Deutero-Zechariah! Zechariah we are told "has the same heart-felt interest in miracle as Isaiah did."[38] In view of what may fairly be called the unstable equilibrium of Duhm's interpretation and criticism, the work which had been earlier initiated by Stade gains a new significance.[39]

B. Stade.

Stade's importance in the history of Isaiah-interpretation lies mainly in two things: his criticism of the Isaiah narratives,[40] and his criticism of the anti-Assyrian prophecies. 1) For the first time he subjected the Isaiah narratives to a rigorous criticism and showed that only the abbreviated annalistic notice in 2 K. 18 13–16 can lay claim to strict historical accuracy. The other two accounts which he unravelled out of the present compilatory tangle were regarded as legendary, and the anti-Assyrian poem attached to them (37 22 ff.) *and agreeing with their point of view* was rejected.[41] This conclusion was ominous for the future. Here was the only anti-Assyrian poem in Isaiah which seemed to be organically connected with a datable event (the campaign of Sennacherib) now regarded as spurious.

2) Equally disturbing was Stade's attack upon certain other anti-Assyrian prophecies. The point of view from which this attack was launched should be noticed. In determining the

[38] *Theologie*, p. 277; cf. p. 211. Compare also remarks in *Comm.* at 31 9, and the new passage in ed. 3 at c. 18, p. 114, and especially the change in ed. 3 at 29 5-8, p. 183.

[39] See his articles in the debate on Deutero-Zechariah in ZATW, 1881—'84, and *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1881—'85, passim.

[40] Cc. 36, 37, cf. 2 K. 18 13-19 37.

[41] *GVI*, p. 617 ff.; ZATW, 1886, p. 173 ff.

genuineness of a prophecy *the criterion of ideas* was pushed to the front. If an idea appeared in one passage in a self-explanatory context and in another passage in an unorganized and unintelligible way, the priority must be with the self-explanatory passage.[42] Now the Gog prophecy in Ezekiel has been admitted on all hands to be a characteristic prophecy of Ezekiel and an integral part of his system of thought. It is a 'child of Ezekiel's reflection', to use a famous phrase of Smend. According to this prophecy, Gog marches at the head of "many peoples", mysterious hordes from the north, to attack the Holy Land in one last mighty effort to crush the people of God. But Jahweh's power and holiness are brilliantly vindicated in Gog's complete overthrow. Upon the mountains of Palestine his armies meet destruction, a sure proof that Jahweh's hand has accomplished it. But within the anti-Assyrian prophecies there is a small group, the "many-nations" passages (8 9 f.; 17 12–14; 29 5–8, and cf. 14 24–27 where "all nations" as well as Assyria are referred to), in which the same *motif* is found as in the Gog prophecy and expressed in much the same way. Here are many mysterious, unnamed peoples arrogantly combining against Judah but ultimately overwhelmed by Jahweh's power. Now, whereas the Gog prophecy is in the most intimate relation with Ezekiel's theological views, the "many-nations" passages, it is claimed, are out of harmony with Isaiah's views. The universalism implied in them is too advanced for eighth-century prophecy. But apart from this argument, which is not entirely convincing, the fact remains that these three brief prophecies are in fundamental disagreement *with their contexts*. In accordance with Stade's method it would seem reasonable to conclude that the *motif* in these prophecies originated with Ezekiel, and that the "many-nations" passages were incorporated into Isaiah after the time of Ezekiel.[43] This conclusion would also agree with one of the most celebrated dicta of Wellhausen. "Earlier", he tells us, i. e. in the preexilic period, "it was always an enemy already threatening in the background, a danger actually approaching; after the exile, fancy created a general conspiracy of God knows what people

[42] ZATW, 1881, p. 10 ff.
[43] ZATW, 1883, pp. 1—16; 1884, p. 260 n. 1.

against Jerusalem, for which in reality there was no occasion. Prophecy lost its connection with history and its foundation in history".[44] This statement would seem to fit exactly the "many-nations" passages in Isaiah. But may we not take one more step? The same *motif* is found in the other anti-Assyrian passages as well as in the "many-nations" group. It is interesting to observe how Robertson Smith characterizes Is. 10 in almost exactly the same language as Stade and Smend characterize Ezek. 38 and 39.[45] In both Jahweh's honor is at stake; in both the destruction of Assyria or Gog is necessary to the vindication of his honor. But in one particular c. 10 and certain others of the anti-Assyrian group differ from the Gog prophecy. They are expressly anti-*Assyrian*. They seem to oppose the *historical* nation, Assyria. The relationship of the anti-Assyrian prophecies in Isaiah to the Gog prophecy would then seem to be a good example of the seed and flower theory. The Isaianic prophecies could naturally be accounted for as originating in the great Assyrian crisis, an historical crisis. Ezekiel would take up the *motif* of the Assyrian prophecies and theologize or rather mythologize it. Unfortunately, the problem is not quite so easy of solution as that. Is Assyria in these anti-Assyrian prophecies always the historical Empire of the Tigris? At 14 24–27, a prophecy very much like the "many-nations" prophecies in style and temper, and in addition referring to the destruction of the enemy on the mountains of Palestine (cf. the Gog prophecy), Stade himself identifies Assyria with the Seleucid power.[46] But if this can be done in one case, why not in another? The question arises: When is Assyria not Assyria? When once the "many-nations" passages have been rejected, the fat is in the fire so far as the group of anti-Assyrian prophecies is concerned. It is impossible to prevent the question of their genuineness being seriously raised and discussed.[47]

[44] *Proleg.* 433.

[45] Smith, pp. 297—300, 333, 336; Smend, *Ezechiel*, at cc. 38, 39; Stade, ZATW, 1881, p. 44.

[46] ZATW, 1882, p. 291 f.; Duhm makes the same identification at 10 24; 11 11, and 19 23.

[47] Stade also rejected the Messianic passages, 9 1-6 and c. 11 (see *GVI*

Thus far I have sought to show 1) how Wellhausen, Smend, Smith and Duhm accepted the genuineness of the Messianic and anti-Assyrian groups of prophecies, and how two very divergent theories of the significance of Isaiah were based upon them; in one case all the emphasis was laid upon the historical and ethical, in the other upon the eschatological and the supernatural; 2) how, in the ethical interpretation, latent contradictions were discovered between the nationalism of Isaiah's eschatology and the fundamental conceptions of prophecy, and how, in the eschatological interpretation, all links betwen Isaiah's eschatology, which had a literary origin, and his prophecy, which was expressed in his spoken sermons, were practically destroyed; 3) how, in the third place, Duhm showed that the present book of Isaiah is a prophetic anthology compiled during the late post-exilic period in an eschatological interest, and how it became at times very difficult to distinguish the original eschatology of Isaiah from the eschatology of the redaction, and 4) how, in the case of the anti-Assyrian prophecies in particular, Stade established the closest connection between them and the peculiar views of Ezekiel. It is evident that the theory of a post-exilic eschatological redaction is entering into the problem of the genuineness of the Messianic and anti-Assyrian prophecies in a most disconcerting way. If it could once be shown that the groups of prophecies in question can not be adequately related to those prophecies of woe which are unanimously accepted, and can not be explained out of Isaiah's ministry, it would immediately follow that they must belong to this redaction. Hitherto only the more general discrepancies between these prophecies and Isaiah's fundamental ideas have been pointed out. It will be next in order to examine them more in detail in the light of the circumstances of Isaiah's day and of the purposes of his ministry.

vol. I, 596 n. 2, and vol. II. 209 ff.). But as he did not develop his argument against them, his hints at first made little impression. Not so his attack upon cc. 32 and 33 (ZATW, 1884, pp. 256—271). This was a powerful one. It so shook confidence in c. 33 that few have since dared to defend it; and c. 32, when accepted at all, has been accepted only with the greatest caution.

III. Attempts to Relate Isaiah's Hopes to his Threats.

In what follows I can select only the most outstanding problems presented by the prophecies of hope and treat them in the most general way.

A. The Messianic Group.

The first problem concerns the date and position of the Messianic prophecies in the life and teachings of Isaiah, provided they are accepted as genuine. So long as 6 1–9 6 is regarded as an organically constructed section, and Immanuel at 7 14 and 8 8 is identified with the Messiah, it follows that the doctrine of the Messiah was entertained at an early stage in Isaiah's career, for this section is definitely located at the Syro-Ephraimitic crisis in 735/734. But did Isaiah teach this doctrine later? The answer to this question depends upon the date of c. 11. The date of c. 11 was supposed to depend, in turn, upon the date of the foremost anti-Assyrian prophecy, c. 10, with which c. 11 appears to be connected. If, now, c. 10 is placed in the Sennacherib period, and that at first sight seems to be the most natural place to put it, it follows that c. 11 belongs to that period also. In that case Isaiah taught the doctrine of the Messiah at the end of his life as well as at the beginning.[48] But if c. 10 is placed in the Sargon period, as many scholars have held,[49] and c. 11 is still connected with it, then it follows that in the Sennacherib period, which is generally regarded as the climax of the prophet's career, the doctrine of the Messiah played no part. This is curious. But was c. 11 originally connected with c. 10? Guthe denied it,[50] and the work of Duhm confirmed his view.[51] But if c. 11 is cast loose from its present

[48] This is the view of Ewald. I omit, again, any consideration of 32 1 ff. and 33 17, for the reason that both dating and interpretation of these passages are extremely doubtful. The case for the genuineness of the doctrine of the Messiah in Isaiah depends upon the acceptance of 9 1-6 and c. 11.

[49] See R. Smith, and Cheyne in his commentary.

[50] See his *Zukunftsbild des Jesaia.*

[51] I think nothing is surer in the criticism of Isaiah than that 10 33, 34 are due to the later eschatological revision. The antithesis, therefore,

moorings, where is it to find a new anchorage? Guthe answered, at 9 1–6, the prophecy most closely akin to it. The result is to locate *all* the Messianic prophecies early, in 735/734. But how, then, is the disappearance of the Messiah in the later periods to be accounted for? According to Robertson Smith the doctrine of the Messianic King originated in the Syro-Ephraimitic period as an antithesis to the wicked Ahaz. The doctrine was still cherished as late as the Sargon period in Hezekiah's reign, for in his earlier years Hezekiah was not so good as he is generally supposed to be. But when Hezekiah repented in the Sennacherib campaign, it was not so necessary to rely upon a Messiah. The Messiah being only an ideally human king (the Wellhausen interpretation), Isaiah was able to emphasize the glorious reign of Jahweh, himself, through his historical representative, Hezekiah, now turned from his evil ways. In other words, the Messiah becomes so humanized by Smith along the Wellhausen lines that the rule of a good human king, even though he has just been converted, makes him superfluous. Guthe, on the contrary, adopts the eschatological interpretation of the Messiah in cc. 6—9. In 735 the situation was so bad that Isaiah was unable to hope for deliverance except through the miraculous intervention of an eschatological Messiah (again set in antithesis to Ahaz). But later the situation became improved in the reign of the good king Hezekiah (good all through his reign). Jerusalem was now practically identified with the Remnant, or at least the Remnant, as the reformed party, was located in Jerusalem. Consequently, when danger threatened from Assyria, Isaiah's view changed. He no longer expected a miraculous deliverance, but an historical one. The doctrine of the inviolability of Zion, interpreted in the interest of historical continuity (Wellhausen), took the place of the Messiah eschatologically interpreted.[52] This theory of Guthe is followed by Giesebrecht[53] and Procksch.[54] The latter introduces

which seems now to exist between the felled Assyrian forest and the twig of Jesse is not an original antithesis, but an artificially created one. I cannot feel that Miss Smith (JBL 1917, p. 167 f.) has succeeded in disproving this critical result.

[52] *Zukunftsbild*, p. 12 ff.

[53] *Beiträge*, p. 76 ff.

[54] *Geschichtsbetrachtung*, 38, n. 1; 43, n. 1.

an interesting variation. He recognizes that the Messianic idea is essentially nationalistic. Therefore, when the great doctrine of faith, Isaiah's supreme acquisition in 735, had been given time logically to work itself out, and when a non-nationalistic interpretation of the Remnant had dawned on him, the more nationalistic doctrine of the Messiah gradually faded away. But Procksch sees that the doctrine of the inviolability of Zion, which takes the place of the doctrine of the Messiah, has its own nationalistic limitations. He therefore seeks to spiritualize the latter doctrine. It does not grow out of a conception of Zion as a cult centre, or as a royal city, but rather as the seat of God's spiritual presence, to be apprehended by faith alone (28 16).[55] The artificiality of all these expedients is obvious, and their forced character betrays the difficulties of the problem.

Duhm strikes out on a different path, but on a very dangerous one. The identification of Immanuel with the Messiah at 7 14 is rightly denied,[56] and the Immanuel of 8 8, 10 is dislodged by a text-critical process. With these two anchors gone, Duhm is prepared to take the next step and disconnect 9 1–6 altogether from the Syro-Ephraimitic prophecies.[57] The consequence is that the only two prophecies, 9 1–6 and c. 11, the Messianic interpretation of which is secure, are cast completely adrift. They

[55] P. 58 ff.

[56] See Porter's article JBL 1895, and my article in AJSL July, 1918, which seek to confirm, along a different line, the non-Messianic character of Immanuel.

[57] The Syro-Ephraimitic prophecies come to an appropriate and effective conclusion in the epilogue, 8 16-18. What follows in vs. 19-22, whatever it may mean, has nothing to do with the subject of cc. 6—8. 8 23 is altogether too uncertain to furnish a reliable connection between 9 1-6 and the historical situation. It is a gloss to connect 9 1 with 8 19-22. There is also another reason why 9 1-6 cannot have originally been connected with the Syro-Ephraimitic prophecies. The only adequate reason which has ever been offered for the present position of c. 6 is that it was placed here by Isaiah himself as an introduction to the account of the events in 735 recorded in cc. 7 and 8, in order to explain the failure of Isaiah at that time to carry through his policies. In that case it would be most unlikely for him to end his account of the events of this crisis with a passage, 9 1-6, which robs the introduction (c. 6), which he himself had provided, of all its point.

cannot be connected with any known fact or period of Isaiah's life. Duhm evidently feels this difficulty. He attempts to find a place for 9 1–6 in the midst of the Sennacherib campaign,[58] but he pushes c. 11 and 2 2–4, which is closely akin to it, to a time *after* this campaign at the end of Isaiah's life. These prophecies are supposed to be Isaiah's swan-songs, the yearnings of an old man. They were not prepared for a public audience, but for the inner circle of his followers. This is in accordance with Duhm's theory that Isaiah's eschatological poems have nothing to do with his prophetic career.[59] We see, now, what this boils down to. Because no place can be found for them in that part of Isaiah's life which we know something about, they are transferred to that period of his life which we know nothing about.[60] But if we have to go to the very edge of Isaiah's life to find a place for these prophecies, why may we not step over the edge altogether and look for them in a situation in which they can be explained more satisfactorily? Granted that the origin of the Messianic prophecies might be explained, as Wellhausen explained it, out of the general situation in Isaiah's day, *yet when they are examined in the light of Isaiah's other teaching and of his prophetic career,* a serious doubt arises whether they originated with *him.*

B. The Anti-Assyrian Group.

We have seen how certain scholars have held that the doctrine of the inviolability of Zion gradually supplanted the doctrine of the Messiah in the latter part of Isaiah's life. This means that

[58] His only argument is that v. 3 must refer to Assyria and v. 4 to the army of Sennacherib. Why?

[59] See above, n. 35.

[60] It would have been well if 9 1-6 had been placed with c. 11 and 2 2-4. In my article on *A New Chapter in the Life of Isaiah,* I have suggested that some light may be thrown upon the closing days of Isaiah by the Shebna prophecy, but even if the suggestions there given were accepted, they would furnish no explanation of these Messianic prophecies in this late period. Staerk (*Das Assyrische Weltreich,* p. 216 f.), gives up the attempt to date the Messianic prophecies more precisely or to constitute a development in them.

the anti-Assyrian prophecies, in which this doctrine finds expression, are pushed down into this later period. Is this admissible? Can we find an intelligible place for them either here or anywhere else in Isaiah's life? If this cannot be done, then, of course, the close connection established between this group of prophecies and Ezekiel's theology becomes doubly significant. In the criticism of the anti-Assyrian prophecies there are three crucial questions: 1) The historicity of the Isaiah narratives; 2) the date of c. 10; and, more important than this; 3) the date and integrity of the anti-Egyptian prophecies cc. 28—33.[61] The first of these questions has already been treated. We are now to consider the second and third.

1) So far as c. 10 is concerned, wherever it goes the remaining anti-Assyrian prophecies usually follow. The date of c. 10 is therefore a controlling date for the group as a whole. But in what period is it to be located? This prophecy has been variously dated, at or about the time of Samaria's fall, 722,[62] about 711 (Sargon's campaign against Ashdod),[63] in the Sennacherib period (705—701).[64] The last date, which is favored, by the great majority of scholars, is the most natural date so long as the Isaiah narratives, including the anti-Assyrian poem c. 37 22 ff., are accepted. C. 10 in its present form echoes the same tones of assurance on the one hand and defiance on the other as 37 22 ff. But if Stade's criticism of the Isaiah narratives and the poem embedded in them is accepted, a serious difficulty arises. Is the great challenge to Assyria in c. 10 justified by the event? Does the picture of the abject submission of Hezekiah in the only passage allowed by Stade to be strictly historical (2 Kings 18 13-16),

[61] I call these chapters the anti-Egyptian group because cc. 30 and 31 refer expressly to an Egyptian alliance, and cc. 28 and 29 can be best interpreted if this alliance is assumed to be the historical background out of which they come (see *The Stone of the Foundation*, p. 15 f.).

[62] Eichhorn, Ges., Di., Kit. (but with inclination to 711), R. Smith, König.

[63] Hitzig, Guthe, Giesebrecht, Cheyne, Kuenen.

[64] Koppe, Eichhorn (with reference to vs. 5-27), Ew., Bredenkamp (?), De., Du., Hackmann, Volz, Whitehouse, Skinner, Wade, Marti, Wilke, Küchler. Gray does not commit himself to any date except one sometime after 717.

harmonize with the supreme confidence manifested in c. 10? Were the hopes in c. 10 fulfilled? If they were, then were the threats in which Isaiah so frequently indulged *not* fulfilled? If the threats were fulfilled, what of the hopes? Were they only dreams? This leads to our second question, the date and integrity of cc. 28—33, with which c. 22 is probably to be combined.

2) The section, cc. 28—33, has led, in the course of criticism, much the same sort of wandering life as c. 10, but there has been a growing consensus of opinion in favor of a date in the Sennacherib period, and c. 22 is also best explained out of the same period.[65] This date for cc. 28—31 (32, 33) and 22 may be

[65] The data which have been utilized to determine the date of cc. 28—33 are the following: 1) 28 1-4, which presupposes a date before the fall of Samaria (722); 2) c. 33, which is supposed to refer to the Sennacherib period; 3) the Egyptian alliance mentioned in cc. 30 and 31; and 4) the connections between cc. 28 and 29 on the one hand and cc. 30 and 31 on the other. 1) The entire group has been located in the Sennacherib period. So Hitzig, on account of c. 33. This position was soon abandoned, a) because of the impossible retrospective interpretation of 28 1-4 which it necessitated, and b) because it was soon discovered (Ewald) that c. 33 was an appendix to cc. 28—32 and therefore not determinative for their dating. 2) C. 33 having become detached, the group was located before the fall of Samaria (722) on account of 28 1-4 (so Ewald, Duhm in his *Theologie*, Delitzsch, Dillmann). 3) Meanwhile the suggestion was made that the group was not chronologically homogeneous. In particular c. 32 as well as c. 33 came under suspicion or at least was regarded as also an appendix. Accordingly, we have the following mixed theories which postulate different dates for the different sections of the group, cc. 28—31. a) Cc. 28—30 placed early on account of 28 1-4, but c. 31 assigned to the Sennacherib period. So König, because of the supposed difference in the historical situations implied at 30 1-7 and 31 1-4. In this König has had no followers. (b) C. 28 early (cf. 28 1-4), and cc. 29—31 assigned to the Sargon period at the time of the Ashdod campaign (ca. 711). So Cheyne in his *Commentary*. (c) C. 28 early (cf. 28 1-4), and cc. 29—31 placed in the Sennacherib period. So Robertson Smith, Kuenen, Guthe (*Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaia*), Bredenkamp, Orelli. (d) Only 28 1-4 early, the rest of c. 28 and c. 29 assigned to the late Sargon period, after 711, and cc. 30 and 31 to the Sennacherib period. So Duhm and Küchler. e) 28 1-4 early, and the remainder of cc. 28—31 assigned to the Sennacherib period. So Stade, Giesebrecht, with some qualifications, Hackmann, Volz, Cheyne in his *Introduction*, Wilke, Staerk, Hölscher. It will be seen from the foregoing that there is the strongest tendency to bring the

regarded as the first great premise of a new construction of Isaiah in which the anti-Assyrian prophecies are rejected. The second premise is derived from the criticism of these prophecies.

When cc. 28—31 are attentively examined, a most curious phenomenon is discovered, the regular interchange of hope and threat.[66] The alternation is so consistent as to warrant the conclusion that it is deliberate. In the earlier stages of criticism this curious fact does not seem to have attracted much attention. Ewald, it is true, felt the difficulty, for he says that in these chapters Isaiah is addressing different groups of people. Duhm in his *Theologie*, accepts the sequences as they stand, and, as we have seen, derives from the abruptness of the changes from gloom to hope support for his theory of the miraculousness of the future era. The change to it is so sudden and complete that it must be effected by Jahweh himself. Guthe, also, accepts the sequences, apparently without misgiving. Giesebrecht, however, was somewhat staggered by one instance of them, namely 28 5f.

group as a whole, with the exception of 28 1-4, down to the Sennacherib period, and I will assume the correctness of this view. It is based on two premises: a) the immediate connection between cc. 28 and 29 with cc. 30 and 31, and b) the identification of the Egyptian alliance in cc. 30 and 31 with the one known to have existed in the Sennacherib period. It would take us too far afield to attempt to establish the validity of these two premises in the present discussion, but they underlie all the argument that follows. Anyone who wishes to attack its conclusions must show the incorrectness of these premises. As to c. 22, for our purposes only the dating of 22 1-14 need be noticed. a) It is placed just after the accession of Hezekiah. So Ewald; according to him in 727. b) Assigned to the Sargon period. So Kleinert, Bredenkamp, Cheyne in his *Commentary*. c) Assigned to the Sennacherib period *before* or *during* the invasion. So Lowth, Koppe, Eichhorn, Gesenius, Hitzig, Knobel, Delitzsch, Dillmann, Orelli, Giesebrecht, Stade, Robertson Smith, Duhm, Wilke, Küchler. d) Assigned to the Sennacherib period *after* the invasion. So Sörensen, Guthe, Kuenen, Hackmann, Volz, Marti, Meinhold, Staerk. The passage is not homogeneous, and I shall assume in what follows that the date of vs. 1-5 and 12-14, the passages which more immediately concern us, can safely be fixed in the Sennacherib period, but *before* the invasion. Hence these verses are to be grouped with cc. 28—31. See an outline of the argument for this date of c. 22 in the writer's article on *The Book of Isaiah*, The Harvard Theological Review, pp. 516 ff.

[66] See Table p. 70.

These verses are in flat contradiction with what Giesebrecht considered to be Isaiah's earliest messages of doom. He advanced the theory that these early threats were subsequently modified by Isaiah himself through the addition of vs. 5 and 6, when the historical condition had changed, and that, still later, the passage was revised again by the addition of the threats in vs. 7–22 which came out of the Sennacherib period and which in turn recalled the promise in vs. 5, 6.[67] In connection with his assignment of 28 7–22 to the Sennacherib period Giesebrecht made another observation of fundamental importance. Hitherto the general tendency had been to push the hopes in cc. 28—31 into the foreground and the threats into the background. *But when these chapters were placed in the Sennacherib period a difficulty arose.* On other occasions, as in the Syro-Ephraimitic crisis (cc. 6—8) or the Ashdod campaign (711), Isaiah threatened king and people that his advice, that is Jahweh's, was not followed. In the Sennacherib period the anti-Assyrian party which Isaiah had always opposed had got the upper hand and were leading the country into revolt. In cc. 28—31 Isaiah opposed this policy as earnestly as Jeremiah opposed a similar policy in later days. *Under such circumstances we would expect threats rather than encouragements*, and in consequence Giesebrecht laid all the emphasis upon the threatening elements in cc. 28—31. But have the hope elements in this group any place at all in such a situation? Of course, it is conceivable that both the threats and the hopes could have been expressed conditionally, according as the people refused or accepted the prophet's advice. But unfortunately both are regularly expressed unconditionally. Twice in the course of these chapters Isaiah, himself, says that the alternative had been presented earlier to them but that they had refused to follow the right way.[68] As a matter of fact the anti-Assyrian party did

[67] See his *Beiträge*, pp. 65, 68-71. This theory of various revisions by Isaiah of his own works is also utilized to account for the equally abrupt changes at 8 8-10 and 17 12-14. The similar changes in cc. 29-31 were explained exegetically. Giesebrecht's theory was of great value in calling attention to the problem of these curious changes, but his solution of it has died a natural death. It was too artificial to survive long.

[68] 28 12; 30 15.

have its way; the revolt was precipitated. How, then, could Isaiah give such encouragements as we find in these chapters when the people refused to follow him? At this point a formidable difficulty is uncovered. It is rendered still more acute when, on the one hand, c. 10 with all its trailers is brought down to the Sennacherib period and thus becomes associated with the hope elements in cc. 28—31, and, on the other hand, 22 1–14 is associated with the threats in these chapters. The unmediated transitions from threat to hope in Isaiah, especially in the anti-Assyrian prophecies, have occasioned more difficulty than any other single problem in the book. If both these threats and hopes are located in the same period, the Sennacherib period, as in the case of cc. 28—31, c. 22, and c. 10, the problem of their relationship to each other becomes doubly difficult, for the unchanging opposition to Isaiah's policies in this period would lead us to expect only denunciations, not promises. Furthermore, the question must again be raised: Were the hopes or the threats fulfilled? This depends upon one's views of the historicity of the Isaiah narratives which we have seen was seriously attacked by Stade. What happened in 701, a terrible disaster or a triumphant deliverance? Such are the factors in the problem of the anti-Assyrian prophecies with their expressed or implied doctrine of the inviolability of Zion. The chief attempts to solve this problem are the following.

1) Robertson Smith held that the change from threats to promises was due to the reforms of Hezekiah which he locates in the midst of the campaign.[69] This is in agreement with the Wellhausen insistence upon the ethical element in Isaiah. Deliverance is inconceivable without repentance. Smith assumed the present order and historicity of the Isaiah narratives according to which 2 K. 18 13–16 is the first episode in the Sennacherib campaign against Judah, and he locates the reforms between 2 K. 18 13–16 and 18 17 ff. But if Stade's criticism of the

[69] Delitzsch and Orelli seek to mediate from threat to promise also through the goodness of Hezekiah. The main interest of these men is in the principles of prophetic fulfilment, and their work is therefore dominated by the apologetic, rather than the historical, interest in the above questions.

saiah narratives is accepted, Smith's theory cannot be carried hrough.

2) Dillmann assigns both cc. 28—32 and c. 10 to earlier eriods in Isaiah's life[70] and thus seems to relieve the violent ontrast between them which exists if both groups of prophecies re placed in the Sennacherib period. But this is of little avail s long as he keeps the equally contradictory prophecies, c. 22 nd c. 37 22ff., in this period. He says: the former threats have een fulfilled in 2 K. 18 13–16; as the facts speak for themselves, t is no longer necessary to renew them; the time is now ripe or promises. But is not c. 22 a threat and the most unqualified f all? Yes, but though it is also placed after 2 K. 18 13–16, it s only an episode, Dillmann tells us, only a momentary outburst f anger!

3) The usual theory has been that Isaiah was so outraged by he blasphemous arrogance of Assyria as to overlook, for the time eing, the sins of Judah. This theory is based mainly on 10 5–15 nd it emphasizes the religious rather than the ethical interest. Assyria is guilty either of *lèse majesté* against Jahweh or sacrilege gainst his temple. This theme is repeated with almost endless ariations by scholars of all schools.[71] The fundamental objection

[70] See above, n. 62, 65.

[71] E. g. Ewald (a classic formulation of this theory), Stade (in his *Geschichte*), Guthe, Giesebrecht, Driver (*Isaiah*, in the Men of the Bible Series), Küchler, Wilke, Kittel. Sometimes the conflict between the hope nd the doom prophecies is dulled a little by referring them to different eriods. Ewald places cc. 22, 28—32 before 722 but c. 10 and the anti-Assyrian prophecies in the Sennacherib period. Guthe and Giesebrecht everse this and place cc. 22, 28—31 (in part) in the Sennacherib period nd c. 10 earlier. Such methods do nothing to relieve the difficulties of he abrupt changes within cc. 28—31 or between c. 22 and 37 22f. when oth are located in the Sennacherib campaign. According to Driver, Isaiah orgot all party interests in the great national crisis, just as Aristides did n the crisis of Athenian history, and promises took the place of denun-iations (as if Isaiah would encourage those who repudiated his policy!). The arrogance of Assyria must be challenged. "There are bounds which ven a despot cannot pass" (*Isaiah, his Life and Times*, p. 69). Similarly Kittel: "When Asshur trespasses upon Zion, where Jahweh has his altar nd where Isaiah himself in the most exalted moment of his life was onored with a vision of him, then is Judah's guilt forgotten for a

to it is that in the situation of the Sennacherib campaign promises are the last thing we would expect Isaiah to indulge in. He had spent his life in protesting against foreign alliances. Faith in Jahweh, not in Egypt, was his solution for the ills of the times. "Egypt is man and not God; his horses are flesh and not spirit. In returning and rest ye shall be saved; in quietness and confidence your power shall be. If you do not believe you shall not be established."[72] These are the expressions of the fundamental religion of Isaiah. His kingdom is the kingdom of the spirit and he sets it in irreconcilable antithesis to the kingdom of force. They are to trust in the gently-flowing waters of Siloah, symbol of the power of the spirit, not in the muddy, swirling flood of the Euphrates, symbol of the power of the material and the

moment—not for ever—and the judgment upon Assyria becomes controlling." (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*[2] II, p. 511). According to Dillmann the *anger* of c. 22 was a passing mood; according to Driver and Kittel, in the *promises* to Judah Isaiah momentarily ignored its sins. One of these explanations is just as improbable, when the historical situation is realized, as the other. Stade, in his *History*, having thrown doubts upon the historicity of the Isaiah narratives, logically holds that both threats and promises were fulfilled in the Sennacherib campaign, the former in the laying waste of Judah, the latter in the withdrawal of Sennacherib. But he has so reduced the glory of the deliverance that it is hard to think that it represented any adequate fulfilment of the triumphant challenges to Assyria expressed in the anti-Assyrian prophecies. In Küchler's view Judah does not escape by any virtue of its own but solely because Assyria, owing to its brutality and arrogance, is not a fitting instrument with which to punish it. But further, he adopts Stade's criticism of the Isaiah narratives and draws the inference, which Stade himself did not at first draw so bluntly, that Isaiah's promises were not fulfilled in any true sense. Jerusalem was spared, but Sennacherib accomplished all he desired to do. Wilke draws a sharp distinction between Isaiah's attitude down to the Sennacherib period and his attitude *in* that period. Before the campaign he had been consistently favorable to Assyria, but in the Sennacherib period he was opposed to it. The primary reason was not a change in Judah, though Wilke refers to Hezekiah's reforms, but a change in Assyria! Wilke, following Winckler, draws a contrast between the reforming king, Tiglath-Pileser, and the later savage brutality of Sennacherib! The attempt of Winckler and Wilke to construe the so-called pro-Assyrian policy of Isaiah as a policy in any true sense favorable to Assyria is totally to misconceive the real teachings of the prophet.

[72] Is. 31 3; 30 15; 7 9.

eshly.[73] All this was impractical idealism, if you will, but it as the heart of Isaiah's message to the world. Now the point , in the Sennacherib campaign Judah did the very thing against hich Isaiah had protested all his life and in no oracles more owerfully than in cc. 28—31. The anti-Assyrian party got mplete control, repudiated the advice of Isaiah and formed alliance with Egypt. Would Isaiah now turn around and, in e face of this complete apostasy, promise deliverance? It is nthinkable. The suggestion that even for a moment he could ave forgotten the sin of Judah, now in open rebellion against e word of Jahweh spoken through him, cannot be, itself, for moment entertained. It would mean that he had not only rgotten Judah's sins, but the very essence of his own mission. 4) Though Duhm does not refer to the difficulty just mentioned, e seems to be subconsciously aware of it. At least that seems be the clue to his treatment of the anti-Assyrian prophecies. ike the Messianic prophecies, they are not intended for a eneral audience, but rather for the group of believers which thered round him.[74] This theory would get rid of the difficulty hich inheres in the supposition that these challenges to Assyria ere hurled against it in public, in which case Isaiah would have ly strengthened the anti-Assyrian policy which he was in ality opposing. But is there any evidence in the anti-Assyrian ophecies as they now stand that they were spoken in private? ot one bit of reliable evidence is produced for such a theory.[75] is possible to hold it only after the most drastic criticism of is group has been made.[76]

[73] 8 5-8.

[74] See *Commentary*, Ed.[1], at 29 1-8; 30 27-33, pp. 182, 195, 201. Staerk, o, p. 123, avails himself of this theory, though his final solution of the oblem is a different one (see below).

[75] Duhm's treatment of the entire group of anti-Assyrian prophecies identally suggestive as it is, must be considered quite inadequate. e dates for those which are received are generally assumed rather than oved; the criticism of them is in unstable equilibrium, for some are ected while others are retained without adequate justification for the crimination; and the problem which they present, if placed in Isaiah's -time, and the conflict between them and Isaiah's message receive no equate discussion.

[76] See below, p. 49, n. 107.

5) Overwhelmed by the difficulties of finding any place or meaning for the anti-Assyrian group of prophecies in the life-time of Isaiah down to and including the Sennacherib campaign of 701, Staerk seeks a place for them still later, in connection with a conjectured second campaign of Sennacherib. His two chief reasons for this solution are: a) his acceptance of the logic of Stade's criticism of the Isaiah narratives and consequent denial of any marvelous deliverance of Jerusalem in 701; and b) the psychological impossibility of Isaiah promising deliverance in 701 to a people who were in the act of rebelling against Jahweh's will.[77] The terrible devastation to which Judah was subjected in 701 caused Isaiah to change his views of Assyria. The ὕβρις of this military power must be rebuked; hence, when Sennacherib came again against Jerusalem, Isaiah prophesied his overthrow.[78] It is interesting to observe how Staerk pushes the anti-Assyrian group down into an unknown period of Isaiah's life, just as Duhm pushes the Messianic group into the same period. This feeling that neither group of prophecies can be adequately explained out of that part of Isaiah's life of which we have definite information is a very suspicious circumstance. Further, the fact that thus far no reliable evidence of a second campaign against Jerusalem has been discovered is an obstacle of the most formidable kind to the solution which I originally proposed, and, failing such evidence, I have been reluctantly compelled to resort to another solution (see below).

[77] *Das Assyr. Weltreich*, pp. 81 ff., 86 ff., 105—124. The theory of two campaigns of Sennacherib was first proposed by Winckler (*Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, 1892). This solution of the problem of the anti-Assyrian prophecies was already suggested by me two years before the appearance of Staerk's work in a discussion of the two-campaign theory of the Isaiah narratives. (See *The Invasion of Sennacherib*, in particular p. 634, n. 134.) I still believe that this theory affords the readiest means yet proposed for the defense of the anti-Assyrian group. It is also adopted by Baentsch (ZWTh, 1908, p. 470).

[78] Staerk thus ranges himself with the writers referred to above in n. 71, though he places the change in Isaiah's attitude toward Assyria *after* 701 rather than in the campaign.

IV. The Final Neo-Critical Assault upon the Messianic and Anti-Assyrian Prophecies.

In view of the foregoing discussion, it is not to be wondered at that in the later phases of the neo-critical movement the genuineness of both the Messianic and anti-Assyrian groups of prophecies should have been seriously questioned. Hackmann, Cheyne and Volz[79] delivered the main attack against the Messianic group; Marti, Stade, and Beer carried on the operations begun by Stade against the anti-Assyrian group.[80]

A. The Messianic Group.

In the case of the Messianic prophecies, two main features in them, to which the earlier criticism had failed to do justice, were now urged against them.[81] 1) The first is their nationalism. Is the Messiâh a political figure with a dash of religion and morals, or a religious and ethical figure with a dash of politics? Because of the close association of the Messianic king with the Davidic dynasty the former view would seem to be the more nearly correct one. His functions are neither priestly nor prophetic. But in that case there is a latent contradiction between the Messianic ideal and the prophetic opposition to nationalism. We have seen how Smend seemed to be dimly aware of this contradiction.[82] Volz throws it into high relief.[83] He claims that not only is prophecy in general antagonistic to nationalism, but Isaiah in particular is in the most pronounced opposition to it. He unceasingly combatted the various expressions of nationalist activities, intrigues, alliances, trust in military power. Throughout his life he was in conflict with the Davidic dynasty, sometimes in the most violent conflict, as in 735, when he opposed

79 *Zukunftserwartung; Introduction; Die Vorexilische Jahveprophetie.*

80 *Kommentar; Biblische Theologie; Festschrift Wellhausen.* This phase of the neo-critical development is conveniently summed up in Hölscher's *Die Propheten.*

81 Cf., especially, Volz for what follows.

82 See above, p. 11.

83 When König, in criticising this position, insists on the *Patriotismus* of the prophets (*Geschichte des ATR*, p. 410, cf. 382, 400, a. 4), he should define more carefully just what he means by it.

the pro-Assyrian policy of Ahaz, or in 705—701, when he opposed the pro-Egyptian policy of Hezekiah.[84] Would a man of these convictions clothe his hopes in a nationalist form? Of course, it is psychologically quite conceivable that Isaiah might not have realized the implications of his own theological position, and that, consequently, contradictory views might have been entertained by him. There is also the important prophecy, 1 21–26, which seems to look forward to the restoration of the golden age of the Hebrew monarchy, the idealized era of David and Solomon.[85] But several considerations make against this psychological explanation. a) So far as 1 21–26 is concerned, Isaiah no doubt seems to embody his ideals in a state organization, but this is the one undisputed passage in which he does do this, and it is highly significant that in just this prophecy, where, if anywhere, we would expect to find a reference to the Messianic king, it is absent. One can hardly speak of nationalism in connection with 1 21–26. b) Again, in the doctrine of the Remnant Isaiah developed a hope of the future which was bound up with his doctrine of faith, and which was the appropriate expression of the anti-nationalistic trend of eighth-century prophecy.[86] But the fact that he expressed his hope in a form

[84] Isaiah, it is true, does not seem to attack Hezekiah personally as he does Ahaz. Was this because Hezekiah really tried, though unavailingly, to make head against the anti-Assyrian party of his day? Or have Isaiah's attacks upon Hezekiah been deleted by the redactors of Isaiah because there was a tradition that the king had undertaken some reforms which these same revisers construed as deuteronomic in character? The fragmentary state of our sources permits of no final answer to these questions.

[85] The prophecy, 1 21-26, has often been used as a basis for the defense of the Messianic prophecies. Cf. Nowack, *Zukunftshoffnungen Israels*, p. 50.

[86] In cc. 7 and 8 there are hints of an important change in Isaiah's conceptions of the Remnant, due to the experiences of 735. The fact that Isaiah takes his son, Shear-jashub, with him when he makes Ahaz a promise of deliverance if he would believe (7 1-9), strongly suggests that Isaiah was still cherishing the thought of the possibility of Judah being saved, though the negative form of the condition also suggests that he thought the possibility to be remote. But when Isaiah turned to his disciples (8 11-18), after his vain appeals to the court (7 10-17), and to the

entirely in agreement with his fundamental convictions
ows that he must have been aware, to some extent at least,
the implications of these convictions. This makes the
pposition that he was able to adopt the doctrine of the
Messianic King because he was not aware of its latent
ntradiction with the essence of his own views quite unlikely.
Finally, the psychological defense of the genuineness of
e Messianic prophecies, which points to the possibility of
man entertaining contradictory views while they are still
choate, and while their different implications are not yet fully
alized, breaks down at another point. The hopes under dis-
ssion are not integral parts of any of Isaiah's prophecies,
hose disagreement with their contexts would be obvious only
one who was familiar with the later developments of the
octrine. The Messianic prophecies are, on the one hand, in
emselves very highly developed literary compositions, but, on
e other, they are isolated blocks among Isaiah's prophecies and
ly connected with them by links demonstrably redactional.[87]
ranted that it is quite possible for a writer who is unaware of
e conflict of his own ideas to merge them at times into a
erary unity, this is not the case with the prophecies under
scussion. The idea of the Messianic King is nowhere merged
ith the doctrines of the Remnant or the Day of the Lord, or
ith national repentance or the doctrine of faith. Whatever
oints of attachment the Messianic prophecies may have with

ople (8 1-4, 5-8a), it is difficult not to believe that he saw in his disciples
e Remnant, and in so doing caught at least a glimpse of that distinction
hich we now know as the distinction between church and state, and
hich has proved such a decisive factor in the spiritualization of religion.
is true, the name, Remnant, does not occur again in any unquestioned
ssage in Isaiah, and even in c. 8 Isaiah does not directly call his
sciples the Remnant. But the progress of the two chapters, 7 and 8,
d the insistence upon faith as the fundamental fact in religion, which
Isaiah's great contribution to religion, unavoidably suggest the identi-
ation of the company of believers with the Remnant. This theory of
e Remnant is particularly emphasized by Wellhausen (the Remnant is
e party of reform) and Robertson Smith.

87 Cf. the impossible verse, 8 23, and the artificial contrast between
e forest and the twig at 10 33f. and 11 1.

Isaiah's thoughts they are not revealed by the prophet himself, but are left to the exegete to discover. In view of the peculiarly detached character of these prophecies, the abstract possibility that Isaiah may have entertained fundamentally conflicting ideas cannot be regarded as an adequate basis for their defense.[88] Accordingly, the nationalism expressed in the conception of the Davidic Messiah is not what we would expect if Isaiah were the creator of the Messianic eschatology, and the psychological explanation that Isaiah could have entertained conflicting ideas without being aware of the disagreements, while abstractly possible, does not account for the peculiar literary isolation of these prophecies. In this connection the argument from the style of 9 1 ff. and 11 1 ff. might be introduced, but in the present instance this argument has, admittedly, little force.[89] Far more decisive is the argument from the historical background implied in cc. 9 and 11, particularly from 11 1, which seems to presuppose that the Davidic dynasty is no longer reigning. But to follow up the evidence would lead to a discussion of exegetical details which would divert us from our main argument.[90]

2) The second objection to the genuineness of these prophecies to which I would call attention is the large amount of the miraculous element in them. At this point Duhm senses their true nature more correctly than Wellhausen. The figure of the Wondrous Child and of the Descendant of Jesse is not a merely human figure, even though idealized, as Wellhausen and Smith would have us believe; it is an eschatological, that is, a miraculous figure, though strangely enough with historical connections. The child with the mysterious four names is no ordinary child. The attributes of equity and righteousness ascribed to the descendant of Jesse are supernatural charisms, and above all the peace o

[88] By way of contrast, 8 18b involves an idea, the localization of Jahwe on Mt. Zion, which is in latent contradiction with the incipient universalism of eighth century prophecy, but which is nevertheless, from a literary point of view, an organic part of the context (against Winckler, *Geschicht Israels*, I. 107, n. 2, and Volz, p. 43, who reject it).

[89] Hackmann, Volz, and Marti lay little emphasis upon it; Cheyn develops it somewhat more

[90] See especially Hackmann's forcible treatment of the argument fror the historical background, pp. 135 f., 138 ff.

nature is a miraculous peace, a peace of the golden age.[91] All this contrasts sharply with the intense realism of Isaiah, with his vivid ethical and historical interests. At the same time it reminds of Wellhausen's dictum that it was in the post-exilic period that prophecy gradually came to be detached from history. It is no wonder, therefore, when criticism became fully aware of the perplexing problem created by the presence of these prophecies among Isaiah's literary remains, that it was gradually led to relegate them to a much later period. This is not capriciousness. It is method, and an honest method, too. Once granted Wellhausen's premise on the one hand and Duhm's exegesis on the other, and the attempt to bring these prophecies down to the post-exilic period becomes almost inevitable. Of course, if neither premise nor exegesis is accepted, the conclusion drawn from them might have to be revised. But here a third datum is to be considered.

3) Until the time of Ezekiel there is no reference whatever to a Davidic Messiah, and when he appears he is a very modest figure indeed. Little is made of him by Ezekiel.[92] If the usual views of cc. 40—48 are accepted, the figure of the Messiah becomes quite faded in Ezekiel's later period; if the views advanced in recent years by Begrich[93] and Herrmann[94] are adopted, and there is excellent reason for doing so, it is washed out altogether. This absence of all reference to the Messiah for over a hundred years is the strangest sort of fact if the Messianic passages in Isaiah are original. Its strangeness is increased by the further fact that when Ezekiel does refer to the Messiah, there is no evidence that he was acquainted with the passages in Isaiah. The same thing is true of the references to the Messiah in Jeremiah. Whether genuine or not, they show no literary

[91] It is interesting to observe how Wellhausen (*Geschichte*, p. 123, n. 2 f.) and Smith (pp. 301, 303) concentrate their attention upon 11 1-5 and turn vs. 6-8 into poetry, whereas Duhm and Hackmann (p. 145 ff.) emphasize the latter verses.

[92] Cf. 17 22-24; 21 32; 29 21 (?): and the more important passages 34 23 f. and 37 24-28.

[93] *Das Messiasbild des Ezechiel*, ZWTh 1904, p. 433 f.

[94] *Ezechielstudien*, 1908.

dependence upon Isaiah. Now Is. 9 and 11 are so striking that in later times it became customary to interpret Isaiah's other prophecies in the light of them, and yet we must suppose that they had no effect upon Isaiah's immediate successors![95] This

[95] It is this argument which gives pause even to the very cautious Kautzsch (see his article on *The Religion of Israel*, H. D. B., Extra Vol., p. 696). The argument would lose only a little of its force even if the prophecies of a Davidic Messiah in Jeremiah were admitted to be genuine. But I think it can be almost demonstrated that they are not. It would require another essay the size of the present one adequately to discuss the Messianic element in Jeremiah, but in view of Cornill's defense (see *Das Buch Jeremia* 1905) of the controlling passage, 23 5-6, a word upon it may not be amiss. 1) C. 22 is a later redaction of genuine criticisms passed by Jeremiah upon the last kings of Judah. With the exception of Josiah (22 10a) they are bad kings and come to an untimely end. The prophecy in its present form ends with the curse upon Jeconiah (vs. 24-28), the nucleus of which is certainly genuine; it says nothing about the fate of Zedekiah. 2) 23 1-4 is the usual antithesis appended to such grim passages in the prophetical books. The evil shepherds, i. e. the wicked kings in c. 22, will be removed (a quite unnecessary generalization after the concrete denunciations which had just preceded), and good shepherds will be put in their place, who will rule over the remnant of Jahweh's flock, now scattered abroad but one day to be brought back. Observe that vs. 3-4 are the appropriate antithesis to vs. 1-2 both in thought and form, and the passage, so far as it is intended to offset the gloom of c. 22, is complete in itself. 3) But upon 23 1-4 there follows the prophecy of the personal Messiah, vs. 5 and 6. This prophecy contrasts with the one in vs. 1-4 in form; vs. 1-4 are prose, vs. 5-6 are poetry. It contrasts in thought; vs. 1-4 refer to the dynasty, vs. 5-6 to the individual Messiah. Strictly speaking, vs. 5-6 are quite superfluous after vs. 1-4. Thus vs. 5-6 have every appearance of being an addendum. 4) But vs. 3-4 imply the exile and are therefore late (note that the word 'remnant', שאריח, is found again in its technical, theological sense only in the doubtful passage 31 7; in cc. 40—44 it refers to the historical group left in Judah at the time of the exile, most of whom afterwards went to Egypt). But if vs. 3-4 are late, they carry with them vs. 1-2. If, now, the whole passage, vs. 1-4, is late and vs. 5 and 6 are an addendum to it, it follows that vs. 5 and 6 are still later. 5) Again, the word צמח in v. 5 is left unexplained. Why did Jeremiah choose just this word? Neither the noun nor the verb occur again in Jeremiah except in the spurious parallel, 33 14 ff. Jeremiah cannot be dependent upon Is. 11 1, as is sometimes supposed, for he employs a different word from those found there. Further, the word, though figurative in meaning, has no effect upon its context. If Jeremiah applied this name for the first time to the personal Messiah, we would expect its figurative

is almost incredible. Accordingly, when 9 1ff. and 11 1ff. have once been dislodged from their present connections, especially, as in the case of 9 1ff., from the prophecies definitely dated in

suggestiveness to pervade the prophecy. This is not the case. It stands absolutely unexplained and without influence upon the thought or expression of the prophecy. In other words it has already become a technical term. This is the really significant thing for the criticism of this prophecy, but commentators have strangely ignored it. This is probably because almost all commentators have been obsessed with the idea that Zech. 6 12f. is dependent upon Jer. 23 5f. The reverse of this is the true relationship. In Zechariah the word affects its context (v. 12b. The clause, מתחתיו יצמח, is improperly rejected by Mitchell, International Critical Com. ad loc.). Above all, in Zechariah the choice of it can be naturally and historically explained. It is a play upon the name Zerubbabel, which is best explained as meaning the "seed" or "sprout" of Babylon (So Sellin, *Serubbabel*, p. 23, and *Studien*, II 83. For this etymology see also Ed. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, V, following Meissner and Strassmaier, Siegfried, *Ezra und Nehemiah* ad Ez. 3 2, Bertholet, *Ezra und Nehemiah* ad Ez. 1 8, Buhl, Mitchell, *Commentary on Haggai* ad 1 2. The etymology suggested by Haupt, JBL 1913, p. 108, n. 3, seems to me far less probable. But even if it were correct, it would not prevent Zechariah's punning play on the name). The attempt to get rid of the name in Zech 6 12 by the supposition of text corruption (Duhm and Marti) cannot be admitted as legitimate for a moment. The passage is corrupted, but not at that point. 6) When once the true relationship of Jer. 23 5-6 to Zech. 6 12 is recognized, another interesting possibility comes to light. Coniah is rejected though he is a signet ring upon Jahweh's hand. But Zerubbabel is to be a signet ring (Hag. 2 23). One who recognized the allusion to Zerubbabel in Zechariah's word, צמח, and remembered at the same time Haggai's reference to the signet ring, may very well have placed this oracle in its present position in Jeremiah as an offset to the terrible prophecy against Coniah. Cornill sees that vs. 3 and 4 are spurious and frankly rejects them. This has the effect of bringing vs. 5-6 into an antithesis to vs. 1-2. But this is to substitute a very poor antithesis for a very good one. Again, Cornill completely ignores the way in which the name צמח is introduced, which is the critically important datum in the prophecy, and concentrates his whole attention upon צדקנו. This name in his view is a play upon the name of the last king of Judah and occurs just at the point in the sequence of cc. 22 and 23 where we would expect a reference to him. Cornill paraphrases as follows: "Thou, Zechariah, wilt meet thy fate. State and kingdom will be destroyed. But one will come sometime who will be in reality what thy name signifies and what thou shouldst have been." The trouble is, there is nothing of all this in the text. On the basis of Cornill's own showing, vs. 5-6 are brought

735, and set adrift on the stream of criticism, it is by no means a surprising thing to find them landing upon the farther shores of the post-exilic period. In spite of the fact that Wellhausen originally defended these prophecies, it was the inward urge of his own principles that led his followers in the neo-critical school to this final conclusion. But can a proper psychological environment for them be discovered even in this late period? Before an attempt to answer this question is made, it will be well to follow the further fortunes of the other group of prophecies which have especially interested us, namely the anti-Assyrian.

B. The Anti-Assyrian Group.

The data already brought to light for the solution of the problem presented by the anti-Assyrian prophecies are the following: a) The legendary character of the Isaiah narratives. This character raises in an acute form the question of their reliability. Was there such a magnificent deliverance of Zion as is described in them? b) The similarity of the group of "many-

into antithesis to the many bad kings in vs. 1-2, and not to Zedekiah. If the purpose were to contrast vs. 5-6 with Zechariah, we would certainly expect an express reference to him such as we find to the other kings in c. 22. Furthermore, is it likely that Jeremiah would take Zedekiah's name as the key to a prophecy of the Messiah? Granted that Jeremiah does not indulge in such bitter personal attacks upon him as he does upon the other Jewish kings, and that he was a weak king rather than a bad king, he says nothing good of him, either. If a play upon his name were intended in the sense of the above paraphrase, it would certainly have to be expressed and not left to the ingenuity of later exegetes. Cornill's defense of this passage is ingenious, but anything but convincing. But if 23 5-6 are rejected, the other Messianic passages in Jeremiah can scarcely stand the test of serious criticism. Caspari (*Echtheit der Messianischen Weissagung, Is. 9 1-6*, p. 32 f.) gives a curious explanation of Jeremiah's failure to allude to Is. 9 1-6. The central idea of this prophecy is "*peace*". This idea was taken up by the uncanonical prophets and became their watchword in Jeremiah's day (6 14; 8 11). His opposition to the uncanonical prophets and their mistaken use of Isaiah's idea of peace accounts for his own failure to make use of it. In view of what follows Caspari's attempt to show a connection between Is. 9 1-6 and uncanonical prophecy is noteworthy.

nations" passages among the anti-Assyrian prophecies to the Gog *motif* in Ezekiel cc. 38, 39. c) The dating of cc. 28—33 and c. 22, *as a group*, in the Sennacherib period. d) The strong tendency to date c. 10 and therefore the other anti-Assyrian prophecies in the same period. e) The wellnigh insoluble difficulties presented by the abrupt changes from threat to promise within cc. 28—33, by the presence of threats in 705—701 if there was a glorious deliverance, and by the presence of promises in the same period when the historical occasion called only for warnings. In the face of such conflicting data is it any wonder that there has been a resort to criticism? In what follows I shall follow the logical rather than the chronological development of the attack upon this group.

1) In the first place, Meinhold followed a correct instinct when he began his series of Isaiah studies (unfortunately unfinished) with a thorough discussion of the Isaiah narratives.[96] The correct appraisal of these narratives is fundamental to the solution of the problems of Isaiah. The result of the discussion, which is based on Stade's analysis, is to show that, whatever happened in 701, nothing took place at that time to justify the feeling of absolute security and of proud defiance expressed in the anti-Assyrian prophecies in their present form. 2 K. 18 13–16 give us the only authentic description of the condition in which Sennacherib left Jerusalem. But the growing recognition of the legendary character of the Isaiah narratives inevitably carried with it a suspicion of the anti-Assyrian prophecy, 37 22 ff., included in them. These narratives, including the prophecy, did not originally belong to the collection of Isaiah's prophecies, but were taken from Kings, in itself a suspicious circumstance. Further, the prophecy agrees entirely with the temper of the narratives. If the narratives are untrustworthy, it becomes difficult to defend the prophecy which is embedded in them and agrees with them.

2) The present form of cc. 28—33 cannot be original. This has been a steadily growing conviction among all scholars of the neo-critical school, those of the right wing as well as those of the left.

[96] *Die Jesajaerzählungen*, 1898.

Ewald was the first to express suspicions of c. 33, which he assigned to a disciple of Isaiah. But it was Stade who first delivered the attack upon its genuineness from which it has never really recovered, and which at the same time swept away c. 32 along with it.[97] The appendices to the group having been thus disposed of, Sörensen, in 1885, raised the question of the integrity of the main body of prophecies cc. 28—31, by calling attention to the abrupt changes from threat to hope in them. But he gave only brief hints of the difficulties, and his work seems to have had little immediate influence. In 1890 Giesebrecht made a formidable attack upon the integrity of c. 28, but obscured the significance of his criticism by his untenable theory of a revision of the chapter by Isaiah himself.[98] Two years later (1892) Duhm's commentary appeared, in which he completely shattered the integrity of cc. 28—31 and discarded the bulk of the hope material in them as reflecting late eschatology. His criticism, however, remained in unstable equilibrium.[99] He still left to Isaiah 28 16, 28 23–29 and, above all, the three anti-Assyrian prophecies, 29 5–8 (written *mit echtjesaianischem Schwung und Feuer*), 30 27–33, and the nucleus of 31 5–9, especially v. 9. In these three prophecies the inviolability of Zion is either expressly taught or implied. Duhm's criticism was confirmed and the logic of it still further applied by Hackmann (1893), Cheyne (1895), Brückner (1897), and Marti (1900), with whose criticisms I venture to associate my own article on the *Stone of the Foundation* (1920). The result of all this work is to eliminate all the hopes from cc. 28—33.[100] These chapters now stand out grim

[97] ZATW, 1884, pp. 256—271.

[98] *Beiträge* pp. 54—71, 76—84.

[99] See above, pp. 18, 20.

[100] It is interesting to observe the effect of this further criticism upon Duhm in spite of his protests against what he regards as its artificial schematizing. In the third edition of his commentary (1914) he finally gives up the genuineness of 29 5-8 and 31 9. The importance of these concessions cannot be overestimated. They are the most significant changes in the new edition. In view of them, it is strange to find Duhm still clinging to the genuineness of 30 27-33. This turgid outburst of vindictive fury against Assyria is as little likely to have been written by the author of c. 6 as any passage in the book. Can it be that Duhm feels the

nd unrelieved in their denunciations of the pro-Egyptian party nd in their predictions of national disaster. We saw that our najor premise for determining the attitude of Isaiah in 701 was he dating of cc. 28—33 in this period.[101] The minor premise s now furnished by the criticism of the group. The conclusion s inevitable: Isaiah was a prophet of woe in this period. But his, as we have seen, is in strict accord with what we should expect, for in 705—701 Isaiah carried on a desperate but losing ight against the pro-Egyptian, i. e. the anti-Assyrian, party. If, now, this conclusion is combined with the results of the criticism of the Isaiah narratives, we arrive at the further enormously important conclusion that *in the Sennacherib period Isaiah was not triumphantly vindicated in his promises but was tragically vindicated in his threats.*[102] The criticism of the Isaiah narratives has carried away 37 22 ff.; the criticism of cc. 28—33 has carried away c. 33, 29 5–8, 30 27–33 and 31 5–9. What becomes of the other anti-Assyrian prophecies?

3) C. 33 and 29 5–8 (remember Duhm's final rejection of the latter as well as the former) belong to the group of "many-nations" prophecies, 8 9 f., 17 12–14 and 14 24–27, which Stade had originally associated with the Gog *motif* of Ezekiel and accordingly rejected. 8 9 f. and 17 12–14 share with 29 5–8 the guilt of contradicting their contexts in the most flagrant fashion. 14 24–27 does not sin in this respect and, further, refers specifically to Assyria as well as to "all nations"; on the other hand, in tone and temper it is exactly like the other "many-nations" passages and is especially closely related to Ezekiel, cc. 38, 39.[103] When c. 33 and above all 29 5–8 are once rejected, it is not at all surprising to find Stade's original suspicions of the remaining

ground slipping from under his eschatological, supernaturalistic interpretation of Isaiah, and therefore clings desperately to a few remaining patches such as this? If this is so, his footing is very insecure.

[101] Above p. 29 f.

[102] Many scholars have been dimly aware of this revolutionary result to which their own criticism has been forcing them. But, so far as I have observed, they have not formulated it to themselves as precisely as I have tried to do in the above statement.

[103] Cf. the destruction of Jahweh's enemies upon the mountains of Palestine with Ezek. 39 2-4.

prophecies of this small group becoming gradually intensified. There are left of the great anti-Assyrian group only cc. 18 and 10.

4) C. 18 is one of the obscurest prophecies in the book; but the conventional interpretation can hardly be correct, and any deductions from it as to Isaiah's attitude toward Assyria, which is not even mentioned in the prophecy (!), or toward the doctrine of the inviolability of Zion, are precarious in the extreme.[104] There remains only c. 10. The case for the anti-Assyrian prophecies stands or falls with this chapter.[105] But here again Duhm led the way. All the chapter was rejected by him except vs. 5–9 and 13–14. His grounds for this drastic treatment have seemed convincing to most of his successors in the neo-critical school.[106] But, if even these remnants are left standing,

[104] The prophecy is usually understood to express Isaiah's polite refusal of an offer of assistance by an Ethiopian embassy, accompanied with an assurance that at the proper moment Jahweh will protect his own, and Judah's enemies will be food for birds and beasts of prey. But a) the land from which the embassy is supposed to come is not Cush but is located *beyond* the rivers of Cush, if the present text is accepted. b) The supposition that Isaiah addresses the embassy at v. 2b is very doubtful. We should at least expect שובו rather than לכו. c) The current interpretation of v. 1a as "an insect-infested land" is a singular mode of address for one who is supposed to be expressing himself with diplomatic courtesy. d) The interpretation of the description of the people in vs. 2 and 7 as complimentary is beset with the gravest philological difficulties. No one has felt this more keenly than Gray (International Critical Com., ad loc.), yet, after pointing out very ably the difficulties in the current interpretation, he lapses into it at the end of his discussion. Herodotus' description of the Ethiopians (III 20) has too much influenced the interpretation of v. 2. e) I would also call attention to the subjectless verb, יעזבו, at v. 6. It is usually assumed that the subject of this plural verb is the Assyrians or the "many nations"; but there is no evidence in the prophecy itself for such an assumption. Moreover, what is the force of יחדו? If we might judge from an original prophecy, 31 3, the יחדו would naturally suggest Egypt and Judah as the associated victims. C. 18 very insistently demands a renewed investigation. Cf. also, Buttenwieser, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 278 ff. The above note was prepared before I was familiar with his similar criticisms.

[105] See my article on *The Problem of Isaiah*, C. 10. So also Beer. Beer's essay appeared before mine, but it was not accessible to me when my own article was written.

[106] The rejection of vs. 27b-32 may, however, be questioned.

ney still imply the inviolability of Zion. Assyria would destroy , but in so doing goes beyond the intention of Jahweh. Hack- ıann, Marti, Volz and Buttenwieser deny this inference, but ıeir denials are quite unconvincing.[107] Hence my attempt at a olution in the article just cited along a somewhat different line. 's. 5–7 a and 13–14 belonged originally together (vs. 7 b–9 may ave been a parallel). The subject of these verses does not oncern the *extent* of Assyria's conquests, but the *theory* upon hich they were made. Assyria claims to make them in her wn strength; Isaiah says, Assyria is only an instrument in the and of Jahweh. The problem of the Assyrian conquests was ıe burning theological problem of the day as well as the burning olitical problem. Could Judah still trust in Jahweh who was ot able even to protect his land from the invasion of Asshur? saiah, who was so preoccupied with the religious significance f the political crisis precipitated by Assyria, could not have voided this question. At some time or other he must have nswered it. His answer was not that Jahweh would eventually ep in and save his people. That might have passed among the eople. His faith reached higher than that. In spite of the coming estruction of the nation, he saw in Assyria only the instrument f Jahweh's righteous wrath. C. 10 in its original form, if my ew is correct, is the highest expression of supernationalism to e found in eighth-century prophecy. To infer from it the ulti- ate deliverance of Zion would be the exact reverse of what aiah intended.[108]

5) But above and beyond the difficulties already encountered the way of accepting the anti-Assyrian prophecies, there are ree characteristics of them as a group to which, in spite of eir obviousness, sufficient attention has not been paid. a) In is group we have a fairly large number of prophecies, some them also quite long, purporting to deal with the military

[107] *Zukunftserwartung*, p. 106 n. 1; *Jahwehprophetie*, p. 53; *Commentary*, loc.; *Prophets of Israel*, p. 285 ff. Their exegesis is improbable, ecially in Hackmann's and Buttenwieser's case who accept v. 12 also! arti suggests striking out the initial הוי as well as v. 12.

[108] In this reduced form c. 10 may have been first spoken to the ophet's immediate followers (see above, p. 35), but this cannot be proved.

power which dominated the horizon of every Jew and conditioned the mission of Isaiah for forty years; and yet, if the internal evidence of these prophecies alone is consulted, we could not date one of them with any certainty at a particular time in Isaiah's life. This is a most singular phenomenon when one stops to think of it. We would expect Isaiah to be as concrete in facing this terribly imminent fact of Assyria as he is in facing the anti-Assyrian party; yet not once does he allow a hint to escape him of the historical background out of which these challenges are supposed to be uttered.[109] Every one of them is expressed idealistically, rather than historically. They are theological rather than political. b) This fact gains further significance when it is associated with another fact. It might be supposed that the contexts would provide the historical framework out of which these prophecies are to be understood, even if the prophecies themselves do not do so. On the contrary these prophecies are, as we have seen, frequently in historical or literary conflict with their contexts. It is they which furnish a large part of the material for the eschatological framework which surrounds the original prophecies of Isaiah and which so regularly cancels their threatening import.[110] c) Finally these prophecies regularly assume that Jahweh will protect Jerusalem. Such protection is taken as a matter of course. It is never explained never justified. The ethical element is almost entirely absent Immanuel, God is with us (8 10 b)—that text might be prefixed to all these prophecies. But is this not an extreme instance of religion in the service of nationalism?[111] If difficulty has been found with the nationalism of the Messianic passages, certainly this difficulty is greatly intensified in the case of the anti-Assyrian prophecies. Thus from every point of view—the difficulty of relating them to the various historical contexts of Isaiah's life their suspicious relationships to their literary contexts in the

[109] We have seen that the interpretation of c. 18 as anti-Assyrian is more than questionable. 10 9 furnishes only a *terminus a quo* for v. 8 but nothing further.

[110] See the Table. The original part of c. 10 has been remoulded by the redaction in the same interest.

[111] See the prophetic criticism of this at Amos 5 14.

book of Isaiah, and the pronounced type of nationalism expressed in them combined with their general lack of ethical interest — these prophecies come under the gravest suspicion, and it should occasion no surprise that criticism has slowly but surely advanced toward their complete elimination from the collection of Isaiah's genuine prophecies.[112]

6) In the case of the Messianic prophecies we have seen how the silence that settles down upon them in the writings of Isaiah's successors is almost impossible to explain, if they were really composed by Isaiah. This silence was found to give added significance to the difficulties which an attempt to explain these prophecies as Isaiah's must encounter. Similarly, the doubts of the anti-Assyrian prophecies which originate in the discovery of their fundamental conflict with Isaiah's mission and message are also greatly increased when they are examined in the light of subsequent developments. Here two facts, far more striking than the later silence with respect to the Messianic prophecies, are observable. a) In the first place, in proportion as the *motif* of this group disagrees with the fundamental conceptions of Isaiah, it is in harmony with the fundamental conceptions of Ezekiel.

[112] In view of the above discussions Staerk's severe criticism of Marti is not pertinent. He says: "What Marti scraps together by way of exegetical arguments out of his own and others' notions with respect to the prophecies just mentioned, without once shrinking before the mutilated figure of Isaiah [lying] in the Procrustes bed of the 'religionsgeschichtlichen' theories, deserves to be commemorated as a document of an era in Old Testament science finally, it is to be hoped, superseded" (*Das Assyrische Weltreich*, p. 215 f.). This is spoken of Marti's view of the Messianic prophecies, but Staerk would undoubtedly apply it to Marti's attack upon the anti-Assyrian prophecies (cf. his remarks upon Marti's treatment of c. 10, p. 212). Kittel also protests against these admittedly drastic eliminations. He says with special reference to this method of avoiding the difficulties created by the anti-Assyrian prophecies: "In view of the so small number of such oracles, and in view of their character which, for the most part, either betrays its Isaianic origin or strongly recommends the assumption of it, I hold this way out to be absolutely impassable" (*Geschichte Israels*[2] II. p. 509). The wholesale denial of laws to Moses at one stage in Old Testament criticism seemed equally drastic to some scholars. The severity of the surgery in this present case is admitted; it is a major operation. The real question, however, to be decided is whether the disease is not so deep-seated as to require it.

Stade's original observation of the close relationship between the "many-nations" passages and Ezekiel has been substantiated, but it has been extended to the group as a whole. b) But equally important is a second fact of a very different kind. Jeremiah is in as violent antagonism to this group at one point as Ezekiel is in hearty sympathy with it at another. The doctrine of the inviolability of Zion which is preached in these prophecies is the doctrine preached by those great exponents of nationalism, the uncanonical prophets, in other words, the doctrine which Jeremiah spent the greater part of his life in opposing. Scholars have vainly tried to tone down this aggressively obvious fact. What for Isaiah is a matter of faith is, they tell us, for his followers a dead dogma. Isaiah did not base his doctrine of the inviolability of Zion on the fact that it was the cult centre, as those who came after him supposed; the Deuteronomists, who regarded Zion in this light, quite misunderstood him. That is, according to these scholars, they quite misunderstood the anti-Assyrian prophecies. But did they? Duhm, who argues along these lines, has to admit that not the Deuteronomists, but he, himself, has misunderstood a couple of the most important of these prophecies.[113] After explaining, in the first edition of his commentary, their relationship to the later eschatology as that of seed to flower, in the third edition he concludes that they themselves are the flower. No, if Isaiah was responsible for the anti-Assyrian prophecies, the Deuteronomists did *not* misunderstand him, but built upon his work and could do so with a perfectly good conscience. The doctrine of the inviolability of Zion expressed in these prophecies is not explained or justified; it is simply assumed. In other words, it has already become a full-blown dogma, ready to the Deuteronomist's hands. In that case a violent and most unfortunate contradiction is constituted between Jeremiah and Isaiah, the two most outstanding figures in Old Testament prophecy.[114] Here is a remarkable situation.

[113] See above pp. 18, 46 on 29 5-8 and 31 5-9.

[114] Westphal recognizes, quite frankly, the fact of this contradiction. "The conviction of Zion's inviolability, apparently first cherished and expressed by Isaiah, burned intensely among the people; it became a popular idea against whose dangerous consequences the later prophets,

In their fundamental religious and ethical outlook there is a remarkable agreement between the two men. Isaiah's doctrine of faith and his doctrine of the Remnant naturally lead on to that great development of inwardness in religion and of the importance of the individual which makes Jeremiah's message so epochal in the history of religion. In Jeremiah we see the break with a nationalistic conception of religion, implicit in the two doctrines of Isaiah just mentioned, still further accentuated. The hearts of the two prophets beat in unison. On the other hand, the two doctrines which have been discovered to be most out of accord with Isaiah's theology and political activities, namely the doctrine of the Messianic king and the doctrine of the inviolability of Zion, are either entirely ignored[115] or positively opposed by Jeremiah. But, it may be said, the fact that Jeremiah does not agree with Isaiah does not necessarily make against the genuineness of the doctrine of inviolability in Isaiah. It is not necessary, except on the traditional theory of inspiration, that prophets should always agree. As a matter of fact, does not Ezekiel disagree with Jeremiah at a point closely allied to the disagreement predicated between Jeremiah and Isaiah? He does, but the disagreement in the former case can be very readily accounted for. Ezekiel has adopted *con amore* the deuteronomic theories of the central sanctuary and its holiness; but in the circumstances this was the natural thing for him to do. It was the deuteronomic theory of the cult significance of Zion

like Micah and Jeremiah, were obliged to contend" (*Jahwe's Wohnstätten*, p. 176). The later theory, he tells us again, is to be referred back to "possibly *in part* misunderstood sayings of Isaiah". What is the reason for this cautious qualification "in part"? Does it betray Westphal's uneasy feeling that after all these prophecies were *not* misunderstood? In an article in the Church Quarterly Review for 1912 on *The Book of Isaiah. A New View*, Burney has this significant sentence: "We can imagine Jeremiah's opponents quoting Isaiah's words against him and reminding him how the earlier prophet's patriotic [note the word] policy had been triumphantly vindicated in the event" (p. 107). Cf. Smend's statement at the end of his discussion of the anti-Assyrian prophecies: "Isaiah prepared the way for Judaism" (*Religionsgeschichte*, p. 239). See, also, above, n. 95, end, and Sellin, *Prophetismus*, p. 52.

[115] See above, n. 95.

that helped to preserve the unity of the people in the suffering of the exile. Whatever criticism may be passed upon the doctrine of centralisation from the point of view of a pure spiritual religion, undoubtedly it did a great service during the exile, and a deeply religious man, such as Ezekiel unquestionably was, may well have attached himself to this theory, even though it had been opposed by Jeremiah at a time when the historical circumstances were quite different.[116] But in the case of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the circumstances which they had to face were almost exactly analogous. The conflict between them, if the anti-Assyrian prophecies are genuine, would be a conflict in the fundamental conceptions of religion, unrelieved by differences in circumstances which might explain it. The fact is, Jeremiah's opposition to the doctrine of Zion's inviolability only serves to throw the disagreement between the anti-Assyrian prophecies and Isaiah's fundamental conceptions into still higher relief.

7) But not only Jeremiah was opposed to the doctrine of the inviolability of Zion, Isaiah's own contemporary, Micah, was also opposed to it. And it is important to notice that this doctrine was a popular doctrine in Micah's and Isaiah's day exactly as it was in Jeremiah's.[117] Would Isaiah have been less true to his

[116] Into the vexed question of Jeremiah's general attitude toward Deuteronomy it is impossible to enter in this connection. There were certain elements in the deuteronomic reform with which Jeremiah might well have had some sympathy, but he was undoubtedly opposed to its fundamental idea, the centralization of the sanctuary at Zion, for he tells us this himself, or at least his biographer, Baruch, does, in a passage (c. 26) the substantial historicity of which is admitted even by the most sceptical of critics. Compare also c. 7, the essence of which must be regarded as genuine, even though, with Duhm, a considerable amount of redaction may be admitted. 11 1-14, on the other hand, must be regarded as wholly redactional (Duhm, Cornill, Puukko, *Jeremias Stellung zum Deuteronomium*, 1913). Erbt's ingenious attempt (*Jeremia und seine Zeit*) to save some of it for Jeremiah is quite unconvincing.

[117] "Jahweh is in our midst; evil shall not come nigh us" (Mi. 3 11 f.). "Let Jahweh, God of Hosts be with you as ye have said" (Amos 5 14). Both prophets put the same sentiment into the mouths of the people, but the context in Micah shows that it involves the belief in the inviolability of Zion. Immanuel at Is. 8 8b-10 expresses exactly the same thought.

great prophetic convictions than Micah was? Would he have made concessions at this point to popular fanaticism that Micah sturdily refused to make? The fact that Micah repudiated the doctrine of the inviolability of Zion should give us pause.[118]

V. The Place of the Anti-Assyrian and Messianic Prophecies in the Religion of Israel, and the Theory of the Revision.

But there are three objections which may be urged against the neo-critical attack upon the anti-Assyrian prophecies and which demand an answer. A brief consideration of them will also give opportunity to round out the neo-critical theory of this group.

a) It has often been held that the anti-Assyrian prophecies precede the deuteronomic reform and prepare the way for it, and hence are to be located in Isaiah's day. b) Again, if there was no glorious deliverance in 701, how is it possible to account for the rise of the legend found in the Isaiah narratives? c) Finally, if Isaiah's message was one of national disaster, how did it come to pass that the anti-Assyrian prophecies as well as the Messianic prophecies were attributed to him? Is not the supposition of a revision so totally alien to the original intent of Isaiah's message most unlikely?[119]

1) In the first place, granted that the anti-Assyrian prophecies might be regarded as precursers of the deuteronomic reform if their genuineness were once established, is it necessary to accept

[118] Robertson Smith and Smend felt this difficulty, but their attempts to solve it are most inadequate. Micah's attitude toward Jerusalem is supposed to be that of a provincial for whom the capital is a kind of Sodom. He would therefore contemplate the destruction of the city with more equanimity than Isaiah was able to do. The latter lived in the capital and had a more aristocratic turn of mind (Smith, p. 289 f.; Smend, p. 237, n. 2 f.). Smend also suggests that Micah may have anticipated the destruction of the city without at the same time anticipating the destruction of the nation. A difficult abstraction in the days of city-states, when the fall of the capital usually meant the destruction of the nation also!

[119] For this last objection compare, especially, Westphal, p. 176, and Miss Louise Smith, *The Messianic Ideal of Isaiah*, JBL 1917, p. 190.

their genuineness in order to account for that reform? By no means. A brief sketch of the development of the idea of a central sanctuary will make this plain.[120] Fortunately, the idea can be studied in the broad light of history, from its origin in the time of David and Solomon to its culminating expression in Deuteronomy. The origin of the doctrine is to be found in David's purchase of the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite for the purpose of erecting an altar there, in order to commemorate the cessation of a plague which threatened the city in his day.[121] On this site Solomon later erected the temple. The temple was the royal sanctuary. The prestige acquired by the monarchy under David and Solomon accrued to the temple, and it speedily became the most famous sanctuary in the land, in spite of the fact that it was later in origin than many other holy places. Undoubtedly the priests who ministered at this royal shrine took advantage of the royal favor to elaborate a ceremonial corresponding in magnificence to the splendor of the court. After the Schism, two royal sanctuaries sprang up at Bethel and Dan, but this did not lower the prestige of the Jerusalem temple in the minds of the citizens of Judah. On the contrary, its supremacy was all the more insisted upon. When Judah became vassal to Israel and the monarchy suffered political eclipse, it was the temple alone that represented the ancient glory of the kingdom. It was in the temple that the national

120 See especially, Well. *Proleg.*[3], pp. 18—26; Smend, *Die Bedeutung des Tempels*, (STK, 1884, p. 689 ff.); Westphal, *Jahwes Wohnstätten, passim.* These scholars all emphasize the great importance of Isaiah and of the events in 701 for the growth of the centralization idea. What follows suggests modifications of the general Wellhausen theory at these points.

121 2 Sam. 24. There is no good reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the narrative in this chapter. (See especially Westphal, 161, and Budde's *Commentary on Samuel* ad loc.). This implies that the rock which fixed the site of the temple had not been a sanctuary in pre-Davidic times (See Kittel, *Studien zur Hebräischen Archaeologie*, I. Der Heilige Fels, for a different view). The sanctuary of the old Canaanite town was more probably at Gihon. It was there that the tent for the ark seems to have been pitched (1 Kings 1 32-40). Smith's doubt of the reason for the choice of the temple site assigned in 2 Sam. 24 seems to be unduly sceptical (see his *Commentary on Samuel* ad 2 Sam. 24).

pride could still find expression.[122] Further, Wellhausen rightly calls attention to a striking difference between the two Hebrew kingdoms which would greatly favor the temple. Whereas in Israel outstanding personalities were developed, in Judah institutions were developed.[123] The priesthood as well as the monarchy was far more stable in the southern kingdom than in the northern. The power of the priesthood at the capital and therefore the prestige of the temple would thus tend constantly to increase. When Israel finally succumbed to the first great rushes of Tiglath-Pileser IV, Shalmaneser V and Sargon, and Samaria fell in 722, whereas Judah escaped, the priests at the temple of Jerusalem would not have failed to point the lesson, and the unscathed temple at the Jewish capital must have still further gained in prestige. Hence, even before the events of 701 the temple must have come to exercise a great fascination upon the minds of Isaiah's contemporaries, and, as we see from the pages of Micah, the dogma of Zion's inviolability was already beginning to exercise its baleful influence. It is therefore entirely superfluous to call in the aid of the anti-Assyrian prophecies in order to understand the later development of the deuteronomic idea. The current which was setting in the direction of Deuteronomy was already running strong. But it was a current which ran in a very different channel from that in which Isaiah's thoughts were accustomed to flow. The waters of Siloah that flow softly could mingle scarcely more readily with this great popular flood of nationalism than they could with the waters of the Euphrates (Is. 8 5-8a). I do not mean to deny that Isaiah

122 The immediate connection between the temple, as the *royal* sanctuary, and nationalism is obvious. It is still more obvious if the usual view of the ark may still be retained, which regards it as the most sacred cult object of Israel and connects it very closely with Jahweh as a war-god. The war-like and nationalistic associations which gathered around the ark would thus come to centre in the temple. The recent brilliant monograph of Arnold (*Ephod and Ark*, 1917) would modify the current conception of the importance of the ark very materially, if its conclusions were adopted. They have been subjected to a searching criticism by Budde (ZATW, 1921). It is, perhaps, too early to pronounce a final judgment upon them.

123 *Geschichte*, p. 68.

was at times attracted by the temple. It was there he had his vision (c. 6) and it was there that Jahweh seemed to him to dwell (8 18). If one wishes to find a psychologically *natural* inconsistency in Isaiah, he can find it at this point.[124] But such an instinctive participation in the current modes of expressing a belief in the nearness of Jahweh is very different from sharing in the popular dogma of the temple's inviolability. As a matter of fact, Isaiah as distinctly repudiates that dogma in the Ariel prophecy as Micah himself does. The enigma of Ariel is only an enigma to those who are still dreaming in the older exegesis and criticism and who sadly need to be awaked. This prophecy in its present form in 29 1-8 illustrates, perhaps more clearly than any other single prophecy, how thoroughly nationalistic the anti-Assyrian prophecies are, and how flatly they contradict Isaiah's own convictions.[125]

[124] See above p. 39 f.

[125] It is unwise to begin the interpretation of 29 1-8 by attempting to determine the precise philological meaning of the very obscure term 'Ariel. It is better first to ascertain how it is used in this passage. The following points seem to be clear. 1) 'Ariel is evidently the name of a city. 2) The city can be no other than Jerusalem; at least it was understood to mean that by the writer of v. 8. 3) The name, and this is all important, *must be capable of a double meaning*, one suggesting honor and the other dishonor. The latter meaning is absolutely required by vs. 2, 3. In view of Jahweh's terrible dealing with her, 'Ariel shall be as 'Ariel! The former meaning is required by v. 1. Isaiah does not explain the name in this verse; it is therefore altogether probable that he uses a name or title of Jerusalem already familiar to the people. If so, it must have been used by them in an honorific and not in a derogatory sense. Thus the name which the people were accustomed to give to Jerusalem in reverence Isaiah gives to it as a threat. This conclusion seems to be absolutely necessary. It follows that no interpretation of 'Ariel which is unable to explain it in two opposite senses will meet the demands of the context. 4) But there is another antithesis in the passage which is often overlooked. חניתי, v. 2, is clearly used in a hostile sense. One reason why Jerusalem is likened to 'Ariel is because Jahweh is to encamp against it (עליך). But in what sense is חנה used in v. 1a? There is no defining word like עליך to tell us. It is commonly supposed to have a favorable sense in v. 1a e. g. to 'take up his abode'. This would agree with the meaning of 'Ariel in v. 1 and with the interpretation which the hearer would no doubt give when he heard the opening phrase of

2) But, it is usually said, the events of 701, as well as the anti-Assyrian prophecies, contributed very greatly to the strengthening of the tendency toward a centralization of the

the prophecy. The phrase is a reminder of the capture of the city by David, who thereupon made it his capital (2 Sam. 5 4-9). The auditor would understand Isaiah to be alluding to Jerusalem, which David made his capital and which is rightly called 'Ariel, a title of honor. But the phrase קריית חנה דוד is, like the name 'Ariel, capable of a double meaning The ellipsis suggested by the construction might be שם . . . אשר, "the city *where* David encamped", or it might be עליה . . . אשר, "the city *against which* David encamped", as the LXX actually understands it (ἣν ἐπολέμησεν). The question at once arises whether the phrase in v. 1 is not purposely ambiguous, exactly as the title, 'Ariel, is ambiguous. But in that case, since Isaiah makes it clear that he intends to use 'Ariel in an unfavorable sense in v. 2, it is probable that at v. 3 he intends to use חנה in its unfavorable sense. Accordingly, the two phrases are to be brought into the same sort of antithesis as the two uses of the name 'Ariel. This can be done very effectively and at the same time the impossible כדור of the M.T. be eliminated by reading with the LXX "as David". The people think of Jerusalem as 'Ariel, in the favorable sense of that term; Isaiah thinks of it in the unfavorable sense of the term. The people think of it as the city where David encamped, i. e. made it his capital; Isaiah thinks of it as the city against which David once fought. There is nothing intrinsically inviolable about Jerusalem. David once fought against it and captured it; Jahweh can do the same. The subtle but stinging irony of the passage on this interpretation is parallelled almost exactly by 28 21, where Isaiah uses another historical allusion with which pleasant associations were attached in the popular mind in an exactly opposite sense; and compare, also, what I believe to be his ironical use of Immanuel at 7 14. Thus the passage can be very well understood even though the exact nature of the play on 'Ariel eludes us. The two interpretations of the word most current in recent years which do most justice to the demand of the context that it should be capable of a double meaning are 'altar' or 'altar-hearth', and 'mountain of the world' and 'underworld'. The latter meaning is based on the Babylonian *'aral(l)u*. The former is the usual Jewish interpretation and has been given special currency by Duhm. The latter was suggested by Jeremias (ATAO^2 p. 558), was tentatively adopted by Staerk, p. 206, and has recently been championed by Feigin and Albright (JBL 1920, 131 ff., 137 ff.). Either view suggests a very forcible play on the name. If "altar-hearth" is adopted, the contrast is between the popular conception of the altar, as symbolic of all that is sacred and inviolable, and the prophet's very unconventional conception of it, as a place of blood and fire, where the victims are slaughtered or burned. Jerusalem, which is Jahweh's sacred altar in the popular view,

cult at Jerusalem. If there was no such signal deliverance at this time, we lose the benefit, it is claimed, of one of the most interesting historical events out of which the growth of the deuteronomic idea could be explained. And again the question presses: How can the legend of such a deliverance have grown up if there was no historical fact to which it could attach? But we have seen that the tendency toward centralization was already in existence, and therefore a signal deliverance in 701 was no more *necessary* to account for the culmination of the tendency in the deuteronomic reform of Josiah's day than were the anti-Assyrian prophecies. Nevertheless, the events of 701 probably *did* stimulate this tendency, though in a somewhat different way than has been commonly supposed. If the views of the Isaiah

will become a shambles, dripping with the blood of its own citizens. It is interesting to realize that Calvin already suggested this interpretation. If the view of Jeremias is adopted, then Isaiah says that Jerusalem, the sacred mountain, will become a Hades where only shades live their ghostly life (cf. v. 4). The significance of the passage is the same on either view. In favor of the former, however, is the fact that Ezekiel actually uses 'Ariel in the sense of 'altar-hearth', and also the fact that Isaiah had little respect for the ceremonial (cf. 1 10ff.). Professor Clay explains 'Ariel as meaning "Uru is God", with reference to the original chief deity of Jerusalem. This name we are told "was *appropriately* substituted by Isaiah for the name Jerusalem in his address to the city, which, doubtless, had continued to worship that god" (Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society I, p. 32). But what is the exegetical significance of the adverb "appropriately"? Not only 'Ariel in v. 1, but 'Ariel in v. 2 must be explained. Now the point of this discussion for our purposes is this. However 'Ariel is explained, it is clear that Isaiah is playing upon it and using it in v. 2 *in a totally different sense from the popular use of it in v. 1.* But in vs. 5-8 'Ariel is undoubtedly used in the popular sense. Mount Zion as 'Ariel is sacrosanct and inviolable. Those who wage war against her will be scattered as a dream, a rather adventurous suggestion in view of the fact that Jahweh himself is to encamp against her according to v. 3. A denial of the real thought intended in vs. 1-4 could not be more expressly formulated than is done in vs. 5-8. The popular conception of the inviolability of the sacred city which Isaiah repudiates in vs. 1-4 is reasserted in vs. 5-8. The astonishment at v. 9f. is not occasioned by the "enigma" of 'Ariel's sudden glorious deliverance out of its deep humiliation (cf. Delitzsch), but by the fact that this supposedly sacrosanct city is to be the scene of pillage and massacre. Strange and outlandish is Jahweh's work (28 21)!

narratives presented above are adopted, there was no deliverance which would seem *at the time* to be any justification of the unqualified promises in the anti-Assyrian prophecies. What contemporaries of the events must have thought can be gathered from c. 1, where Jerusalem is described as "a tent in a vineyard, a shack in a cucumber-patch". Isaiah evidently assumes that his hearers will realize the melancholy character of the situation as vividly as he does himself. But *with the lapse of time* a very different theory might grow up about what happened in 701. As a matter of fact Jerusalem was not sacked; the temple still stood. Sennacherib is as clear on this subject as the Bible itself. What seemed to Isaiah's contemporaries to be a complete vindication of the prophet's predictions of disaster could easily take on a very different aspect in the eyes of a later generation. The doctrine of the inviolability of Zion, in the confidence in which the nationalist party had revolted against Assyria, no doubt received a rude shock when, at the time of the invasion, Hezekiah had to strip the temple doors in order to pay his indemnity (2 K. 18 13–16). But as the memory of the bitter desolation gradually faded out, as such memories almost always do fade out, the fact that the capital and the temple were saved began to assume greater and greater importance. How was it possible for Jerusalem to escape the fate that overtook so many of its sister cities? Jahweh's hand must have signally intervened to deliver it. If so, he must have especially chosen Zion to place his name there. The countryside had been devastated. Its altars had been desecrated. Jerusalem alone must be the place to worship Jahweh in; Jerusalem alone is inviolable. Surely there is no difficulty in accounting both for the development of the deuteronomic legend in the Isaiah narratives and the strengthening of the deuteronomic doctrine on the basis of the actual facts in 701 after "the unimaginable touch of time" had begun to soften their original asperities.[126] As time went on doctrine and legend

[126] The above argument is an expansion of hints by Meinhold (*Jesajaerzählung*, p. 103). Retrospective judgments upon the significance of Sennacherib's invasion and contemporary judgments upon it by those who experienced its horrors could be very different. It is this distinction between contemporary and subsequent impressions upon which I would

supported each other, and when it is remembered that it was t the various interests of both priests and prophets at the tim of Josiah's reform to cultivate the one and confirm the othe it is not surprising to find them blossoming and burgeoning eve more luxuriantly.[127] The anti-Assyrian prophecies are not th precursors of this development but the reflections of it. But ho did these prophecies, along with the Messianic prophecies, be come attributed to the man whose ideas are so diametrically opposed to them? In order to answer this question it is necessar to trace the development beyond the time of Deuteronomy.

3) If the suggestions thus far made have been approximately true, it will, by this time, be realized that the doctrines of th Messianic king and of the inviolability of Zion, which have bee the special subjects of our study, are closely allied with national ism. But in the deuteronomic reform the ecclesiastical theory o the state began to encroach upon the political theory of it. It is interesting to observe that the law for the king in Deuter onomy (17 14–20), even if its originality is admitted, does not emphasize the political duties of the office.[128] The downfall o

lay special emphasis. Some of the concrete details in the Isaiah narratives certainly the mention of Tirhaka, and possibly the plague, are confusions with later events. The recent excavations of Reisner at Napata (Harvard Theological Rev. Jan. 1920) show how increasingly difficult it is to suppose that Tirhaka could have been called king of Cush in 701. The plague may have been a confused reminiscence of what seems to have been a failure of Esarhaddon in the Egyptian campaign of 675 (673?). See Winckler, KAT 88. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, p. 351 for this defect. It is a pity, however, that Reisner revives Winckler's mythical kingdom of Musri. It was to be hoped that Meyer's and Olmstead's attack had forever put to flight the forces of that shadow realm (see Meyer, *Israel und seine Nachbarstämme*, p. 459ff., and Olmstead, *Sargon of Assyria*, p. 56—71). So far as Reisner argues against the credibility of the Isaiah narratives on the basis of Winckler's speculations, his argument must be discounted, but apart from this he shows how unlikely it was for Tirhaka to take the position in 701 ascribed to him in the Isaiah narratives.

127 Is it fanciful to think that the deuteronomic reformers may have utilized the legend to carry through their reforms, which no doubt met with a considerable resistance on the part of the conservative peasantry?

128 Cf., especially, Boehmer, *Der alttestamentliche Unterbau des Reiches Gottes*, pp. 65—67. The law is quite generally regarded as a later addition (e. g. by Wellhausen, Cornill, Steuernagel, Puukko).

the dynasty and the temple in 586 might have proved equally disastrous to both institutions, but as a matter of fact it was not. The temple stood the test of the disaster better than the monarchy. The great theocratical development which now set in, stimulated as it was by the exigencies of the political situation, worked to the advantage of the former rather than of the latter. Ezekiel's hopes centre in a restored temple rather than in a restored monarchy, though hopes of the latter are not altogether wanting.[129] In Ezekiel 37 24–28, for the first time in our documents, temple and monarchy are brought together in the picture of the glorious future.[130] The two kingdoms are to be united, indeed, under one head; David, probably an individual rather than the dynasty, shall be their prince or king (v. 24, 25). But the culminating feature in the eschatological landscape is the temple, not the palace: "The nations shall know that I am Jahweh that sanctifieth Israel when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore" (v. 28). It was this vision of Ezekiel, in which monarchy and temple are combined, which seems to have moulded the hopes of the leaders of the returning exiles some seventy years later. At the return under Zerubbabel we have the one distinct attempt of prechristian times to realize the Messianic royal ideal. It is therefore very interesting to see how closely Haggai and Zechariah associated the Messiahship of Zerubbabel with the temple. It is the completion of the temple that is to usher in the Messianic kingdom.

Now the most remarkable characteristic of this movement, at least in its inception, is its idealistic *abandon*. Haggai and Zechariah are not (consciously at least) political intriguers. They eschew all political means to accomplish their ends. "Not by might, nor by power but by my spirit, saith Jahweh of Hosts" (Zech. 4 6) – that was their slogan. The people were not even

129 Cf. 34 23-24; 37 22-23, 24-27. Aytoun has recently suggested the elimination of these prophecies as spurious (JBL., 1920, p. 35, n. 30); but see Begrich (ZWT, 1904, pp. 433 ff.), and Herrmann (*Ezechielstudien*, pp. 124—126) for their relation to Ezekiel's hopes of the future, on the more probable supposition of their genuineness.

130 In the later passage, Jer. 30 21, the אדיר and the משל seem to have much the same position as Ezekiel's נשיא in cc. 40—48.

to begin with building the walls of Jerusalem; Jahweh himself would be a wall of fire (Zech. 2 9). The only thing the people were to do in order to insure the great Messianic epiphany was to build the temple; Jahweh would see to the rest. He would shake the nations, the Persian empire would fall, and the temple would be glorified (Haggai c. 2). It is a singular mixture of realism and idealism, of the historical and the miraculous, that we have in these prophecies. The hopes attach to an historical character, Zerubbabel, and to the historical foundation of the temple, but they are incapable of historical realization in any literal sense. Do we not see in this episode actually unfolding before our eyes the dissociation of history and eschatology to which Wellhausen refers as so characteristic of the post-exilic forms of prophecy? Is it not out of such a time, or at least out of the ideas and hopes which controlled this period that prophecies like cc. 9 and 11 can be most satisfactorily explained? In these prophecies, as in the visions of Haggai and Zechariah, the supernatural is prominent, though attached to history through the Davidic dynasty. The insistence upon peace as one of the prime characteristics of the Messiah's reign, the lack of emphasis upon any warlike activities, are in exact agreement with the idealism of Haggai and Zechariah.[131] The nationalism in the figure of the Messiah has been sublimated by the close association of the Messiah with the temple. Those elements in Is. cc. 9 and 11 which have been held to express Isaiah's revolt against nationalism and have therefore served as a basis for the defense of these prophecies,[132] are far more easily explained, not as an antithesis to the nationalism of Isaiah's day, but as the natural expression of the new conception of nationalism in the post-exilic period, in which the nation is no longer, strictly speaking, the nation, but is rather a nascent church, and the king is a servant of the temple. Duhm himself has pointed out the close affinity of Is. 2 2–4 (5) with the Messianic prophecies in cc. 9 and 11. It is by no means an improbable supposition that the three poems are by the same author, even if he is not Isaiah. In that case

[131] Hag. 2 9; Zech. 8 12 (read: "I will sow peace", and cf. LXX).
[132] See Caspari, *Echtheit der Messianischen Weissagung*, Is. 9 1-6.

we have exactly the same association of temple and Messiah in these three prophecies as we have in the prophecies of Ezekiel, Haggai and Zechariah.[133] As for the anti-Assyrian prophecies, those which have been denied to Isaiah, even by the more cautious critics, have been usually referred to the Greek period, on the supposition that Assyria refers to the Seleucid kingdom. But it is by no means impossible that some of these may come

[133] The above paragraph suggests, very tentatively, the association of Is. 2 2-5, 9 1-6 and 11 1-9 with the ideas of Haggai and Zechariah. This is the date to which they are assigned by Sellin in his *Serubbabel* (not accessible to me) and his *Studien* (II, p. 172 ff.), and by Marti, and very cautiously by Gray, with variations as to the more precise time. (Sellin, whose agile mind is as sensitive to new impressions as Lloyd George's, has since accepted once more the genuineness of these prophecies, under the influence of the Gunkel-Gressmann methods. See his *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 71, and *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus*, p. 150, and *passim*). Hackmann, Cheyne, and Volz do not seek to date the prophecies with any exactness. They refer them, generally, to the post-exilic period. Stade (*Geschichte*, II, p. 209) seems to assign them to the period between Nehemiah and Alexander the Great. Kennett (Journal of Theological Studies, Vol. VII, p. 321 ff., and *Composition of the Book of Isaiah*, p. 85) assigns these prophecies to the Maccabean period. Similarly Aytoun (JBL, 1920, p. 40 ff.). The same objection might be urged against a date in the early post-exilic period that has been urged against the Isaianic origin of these prophecies: Should we not expect some reference to them in the later literature (see Gray, *Commentary*, p. 166)? There seems to be such a reference at Is. 65 25 (cf. Is. 11 7, 9). But the meagreness of allusions to them must be admitted. However, this can be better accounted for on the supposition that they came out of the time of Haggai and Zechariah than if they were written by Isaiah. In the former case they were anonymous prophecies and would presumably not have the weight that they would have in the latter case (Hackmann, p. 156). But far more important than this consideration is the fact that, if these prophecies are associated with the Messianic movement in the time of Zerubbabel, they are associated with a movement which ended in a fiasco. At that time it is quite clear that the Messianic hopes received a blow from which they did not soon recover. Oracles which encouraged these hopes would naturally lose influence when the hopes were disappointed. But into a detailed discussion of the real date of these prophecies it is not necessary for my purpose to go. All I am concerned to do is to show that they can be better understood out of the political situation and theological convictions of a later age than they can out of Isaiah's day.

out of the pre-exilic period and refer to the Assyrian empire itself. Nahum is not likely to have been the only nationalist prophet to cherish a fierce hatred of Assyria. Beer has suggested that 10 5–19 came out of the time of Nahum and Zephaniah.[134] If the views advanced above are accepted, the original part of this prophecy is by Isaiah himself, but a renewed consideration of a date before the fall of Nineveh for some of the anti-Assyrian prophecies is desirable.

When we turn to examine the Book of Isaiah in the light of the development just sketched out, we can, for the first time fully understand the significance of its peculiar structure. Under the changed conditions of the post-exilic period the original threats of eighth-century prophecy have become surrounded with a great framework of eschatological hope. How long it was in preparing, whether any materials for it were furnished by pre-exilic sources, these are questions of detail which do not immediately concern our problem. The one thing needful is to realize that there was such a revision. It is the great merit of Duhm to have concentrated upon the fact and the importance of this revision for the proper understanding of Isaiah. With the assumption of such a revision we have at last arrived at the place where it is in order to attempt an answer to the third objection to the critical view urged above. How is it possible to suppose that the two great groups of hope prophecies became attributed by the redactors to a man whose fundamental convictions they so flatly contradicted?

a) In the first place, Isaiah was the most out-standing figure in eighth-century prophecy. Moreover, this greatest of all the early prophets was a citizen of Judah. What a deep impression the fulfilment of the warnings of these pre-exilic prophets made upon the post-exilic Jewish community is revealed in the very instructive passage Zech. 7 7–14.[135] But did the significance of the message of such a man apply only to pre-exilic times? This would hardly seem credible to those of a later day. But after the exile threats were no longer in order. There must have

[134] *Wellhausen-Festschrift*, pp. 15—35.

[135] Delete v. 8, with Well., Marti, and Mitchell; perhaps also v. 9a (Marti

been a message of hope also in the great prophets, adapted to the needs of the returned exiles. Thus there would be the strongest dogmatic interest in the attempt to make Isaiah, the greatest of the pre-exilic prophets of Judah, serviceable to the needs of post-exilic Judaism.

b) Again, there are admittedly genuine hopes in Isaiah (1 21–26, the doctrine of the Remnant, and the doctrine of faith), to which the dogmatic eschatology of the later times might conceivably attach itself. When the post-exilic community identified itself with the Remnant,[136] it would be very natural for them to read back *their* ideas of the Remnant into Isaiah's, though Isaiah meant something quite different. They could even make capital out of Isaiah's doctrine of the Day of the Lord. That, too, became popularized again in later times, and was construed as implying hope for the Jews. Since it is unquestionably one of Isaiah's doctrines, it would not be a difficult task for post-exilic revisers, who were without an historical sense but were controlled by a very strong theological bias, to construe it in a sense favorable to themselves, just as Christians of the present day often read back their own ideas into New Testament passages which originally meant something quite different from what they suppose. Thus there are a number of genuine passages in Isaiah which later could be utilized as starting-points for a dogmatic revision. But much more important than these considerations are three other special facts which will account for the incorporation of the two groups of prophecies under discussion into a collection of Isaiah's prophecies.

c) We have seen how there gradually grew up a very different judgment upon the events of 701 from the judgment of contemporaries. The bare escape of capital and temple from massacre and pillage became construed as a signal deliverance, wrought by Jahweh, himself. But Isaiah was the outstanding figure at that time. Was it possible for a prophet not to be aware of Jahweh's intentions to save the city, and, being aware of them, was it possible for him to keep silent?[137] Once grant

[136] Hag. 1 12, 14; 2 2; Zech. 8 6, 11, 12.
[137] Cf. Amos 3 7, 8.

the development of the legend of deliverance, and it is an easy step to associate Isaiah with that deliverance and to suppose that he must have defied Assyria.

d) This last conclusion would be confirmed by a very natural misunderstanding of one of his most striking prophecies. If our view of the original meaning of 10 5–15 is correct, Isaiah did defy Assyria and threaten its final overthrow, though he did not draw any inferences from this as to the deliverance of Judah. But it was certainly a very natural inference that he must have done so. The revision of c. 10, which brought it into harmony with the legend of the Isaiah narratives and the dogma of the inviolability of Zion, was a most natural revision to make, and this could furnish the starting-point for the gradual incorporation of the remaining anti-Assyrian prophecies into the original collections.

e) A similar very natural misunderstanding probably led to the incorporation of the Messianic prophecies. In 7 14 Isaiah predicted the birth of a child who should be given the name Immanuel. The name sounded to the ear full of promise. It was the most natural thing in the world for later students of the old texts to interpret it in an altogether favorable sense and even to see in it a reference to the Messiah. The later Messianic interpretation seems clear at 8 8b–10. But granted the originally independent existence of 9 1–6, where again the birth of a child of Messianic significance was prophesied, it was almost inevitable that the two children should be identified, and 9 1–6 be incorporated into the collection of Isaiah's prophecies in order to confirm the interpretation of 7 14; 9 1–6 would, of course, carry along with it its companion piece, 11 1–9. Thus the presence of the two great groups of the Messianic and anti-Assyrian prophecies among Isaiah's oracles can be very readily accounted for as due (1) to the very strong dogmatic desire of the post-exilic Jewish community to interpret the great Jewish prophet in a way serviceable to the later religious needs, and (2) to the ease with which many genuine elements of Isaiah's prophecies could be misunderstood by commentators who were indifferent to historical investigations.

It is not claimed that the revision must have worked exactly

long the lines just indicated. But it is claimed that it could ave done so. The drastic nature of the revision, if both the reat groups of prophecies under discussion are eliminated, is dmitted. But I have tried to show that there is nothing either ncredible or even unlikely about it. The theory of Isaiah, the ook, here advanced results in the ethical and spiritual inter- retation of Isaiah, the man, which Wellhausen, Smend and Robertson Smith advocated, as opposed to the supernaturalistic nd apocalyptic interpretation of Duhm. But this interpretation s arrived at, not by means of an improbable exegesis of the racles in question, but by their critical elimination. Well- ausen's theory of Isaiah, the man, was correct; but his exegesis f the Messianic and anti-Assyrian prophecies was wrong. Duhm's exegesis of these oracles is more nearly correct than Wellhausen's, but his criticism is in unstable equilibrium, and his leads him to a false estimation of Isaiah, the man. Neither cholar should take it amiss if his principles have been carried ut a step farther than he himself was willing to go. That is sually the fortune of men of original ideas. They are unable o check the momentum of their own creative thoughts. The work initiated by Wellhausen, Duhm, and Stade has thus ogically culminated first, in the relegation of the Messianic and nti-Assyrian prophecies to a later date, secondly, in a theory f Isaiah, the man, which emphasizes as no other theory does what is permanently valuable in his message, and thirdly, in the nly theory of Isaiah, the book, which does any sort of justice o its peculiar nature. These are great accomplishments. Are hey to be repudiated as artificial schematization, as an ille- itimate attempt to modernize Isaiah? A formidable attack has een made in recent years upon the whole development of the eo-critical school, and before it is possible to rest at ease in its nterpretation of Isaiah, it will be necessary to examine with ome care this attack.

Table, illustrative of the Revision of cc. 1–39.

I

Chaps. 1—12.

C. 1	Judgment	cancelled	by	2 2–4 (5)	Eschatological	hope	
2 6—4 1	„	„	„	4 2–6	„	„	
5 1–29	„	„	„	5 30	„	„	
6 1—8 18 (19–22)	„	„	„	9 1–6 (see 8 8b–10)	„	„	
9 7—10 4	„	„	„	10 5—12 6	„	„	

or

C. 1—9 as a whole culminating in cc. 10—12 „ „

II

Chaps. 13—27.

Cc. 13—23 Judgments on the several nations, culminating in cc. 24—27, the Eschatological world-judgment.

Note. 17 1–11 cancelled by 17 12–14, and compare 17 12–14 with 8 8b–10 and 29 5–8.

III

Chaps. 28—35.

28 1–4	Judgment	cancelled	by	28 5, 6	Eschatological	hope	
28 7–22	„	„	„	28 23–29	„	„	
29 1–4	„	„	„	29 5–8	„	„	
29 9–15	„	„	„	29 16–24	„	„	
30 1–17	„	„	„	30 18–26, 27–33	„	„	
31 1–4	„	„	„	31 5–9	„	„	

Cc. 28—31 as a whole culminating in { cc. 32, 33 Append I / cc. 34, 35 Append II

IV

Chaps. 36—39.

Historical Narratives.

PART II

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

The Attempt to rehabilitate the Doctrines of the Messiah and the Inviolability of Zion as authentic Elements in Isaiah's Teaching, and the renewed Emphasis upon the Supernaturalistic in Terms of the Mythological.

I. Principles and Methods. Gunkel.

If the attempt is made to sum up the chief characteristics of the neo-critical hypothesis so far as its results and its methods of arriving at them are concerned they are the following:

1) The present book of Isaiah is a prophetic anthology in the compilation of which Isaiah himself had little share. 2) The evidence for this is found, at the outset, in two main groups of phenomena: a) in the presence of certain prophecies in cc. 1—39 (the Babylonian) which cannot have been composed by Isaiah because of their historical backgrounds; and b) in the peculiar nature of the transitions between the prophecies of threat and consolation. These are not of the character that Isaiah himself would have been likely to make. Isaiah was a creative genius and a master stylist. He had full power to express his thoughts in the way he saw fit, whereas the transitions are artificial and suggest the hand of one who was working over material furnished by tradition. Moreover, in the most of these transitions a distinct tendency is observable, namely, to supply to the prophecies of woe consolatory additions. This purpose cannot be attributed to the prophet himself, for it results in a conscious cancellation of the threats by the hopes. 3) But it is conceivable that, while the present sequence of the oracles is not due to Isaiah, the consolatory passages themselves, or at least the greater part of them, may still be genuine. It may be conjectured that the hopes and the threats were spoken under different circumstances and were only at a later time brought together in their present singular sequences. The next step is, therefore, to examine each of the prophecies with respect to its genuineness. Again two lines of investigation are open, the literary and the historical.

a) The literary investigation involves an examination of the style and vocabulary of the disputed prophecies. In what has preceded, this argument has hardly been touched upon. This is because the argument, though yielding excellent results in the case of some of the prophecies (e. g. c. 4 or 29 16–24), is of much less certain application in the case of the more important ones. b) The historical investigation involves an examination of the historical background of the hope prophecies, and when that fails, as it usually does, *an examination of their ideas.* Could their ideas be understood in the age of Isaiah and were they likely to be entertained by him? 4) At first glance it might seem as if the task were a hopeless one. The danger of the vicious circle is obvious. Fortunately, however, there is a considerable body of material as to the genuineness of which there is universal agreement. This material is marked by a uniform style of the greatest originality and power. In subject matter it agrees with the commission given to the prophet in his inaugural vision to announce destruction to his nation. It also corresponds to the known political and religious situation in Isaiah's times. In its political aspects this material regularly urges a policy of non-interference in world-politics. Religiously and ethically it castigates without mercy the sins and excesses in the national life. In view of the political antagonism to the prophet on the part of the king and people, reflected in this material and corroborated by the Assyrian inscriptions, which show that Judah inclined to follow a political policy the reverse of that advocated by Isaiah, and in view of the religious antagonism reflected in the same material with equal clearness, Isaiah's anticipations of destruction are readily understood. Not so easy to understand are the groups of prophecies which deal with the Messianic King and the Inviolability of Zion. When judged by the admittedly genuine prophecies these prophecies come under the gravest suspicion. They are found to be out of harmony with Isaiah's most characteristic thoughts and deepest convictions and at the same time with the needs of the political and religious situation in his day as he understood it. 5) But in proportion as they are out of touch with Isaiah's own modes of thinking, they are in agreement with the hopes which prophecy cherished

from the time of Ezekiel on. It is the prophecies of Ezekiel which form the great watershed between the pre-exilic and the post-exilic canonical eschatology.[138] The prophecies of eschatological hope in cc. 1—39 are in general accord with the ideas of Ezekiel and his successors. 6) It is this observation which has led to the neo-critical conclusion that the original Isaianic material has been surrounded by a great frame-work of eschatology which was constructed in the post-exilic period.

In the mode of arriving at this conclusion three things are especially noteworthy. a) The neo-critical school operates chiefly with *the criterion of ideas*. If an idea is alien to Isaiah, it is concluded to be spurious and *therefore later*. b) But in operating with the criterion of ideas, the neo-critical school is operating in the sphere of psychology; its criticism may be called a *psychologizing criticism*. It seeks to explain the genesis of ideas, just so far as it can, out of known historical situations. Or when it pronounces an idea to be alien to Isaiah, this is also a *psychologizing judgment*; the idea cannot be understood in the light of Isaiah's other ideas or his mission to his generation. c) In the third place, the neo-critical school is primarily a school of literary, or, more precisely, documentary criticism. By this is meant that it has sought to explain the development of the religion of Israel out of the Old Testament itself. It has first attempted to disentangle the various documents now found in the Old Testament and then has attempted to date them. Next, it too often makes the assumption that the dates of the first literary expression of ideas are largely determined by the dates

[138] The substantial genuineness of Ezekiel is here assumed, in common with the great majority of scholars, and also the propriety of the distinction of pre-exilic and post-exilic. The attack made upon this distinction in Professor Torrey's brilliant *Ezra Studies* (cf. p. 289 especially) seems to me to be exposed to practically insurmountable difficulties. It certainly cannot be carried through so long as the substantial genuineness of Ezekiel is admitted. It is therefore very interesting to discover in a modest little foot-note, (p. 288, n. 8, cf. also his *Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel*, in Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. XV, p. 248, n. 1) that Ezekiel is relegated to the Greek period! Until that foot-note is established by a completely wrought-out argument, one may be permitted at this point in Judah's history still to travel in the beaten paths.

of the documents in which they occur. Thus the history of the religion of Israel has been very largely constructed on the theory that the relative position of an idea in the religious development is to be determined by the time of its first certain appearance in the literature. Again, and this is all-important, the place where an idea is supposed to appear for the first time with certainty is where it is found in a self-explanatory passage, where it is expressed in a distinct and intelligible fashion and is in some sort of an organic connection with its context. (Note the psychologizing interest at this point.) On the other hand, in case an idea happens to occur in two passages, if in one of them it is expressed intelligibly and in organic connection with its context and in the other only allusively and in a way that cannot be fully understood, the second passage is commonly held to be secondary to the first. If the allusive passage happens to be attributed to an author earlier than the time of the clear passage, then the inclination is to deny the authenticity of the allusive passage. We have seen how the anti-Assyrian passages in Isaiah were gradually weeded out because it was difficult to explain them out of Isaiah's life-time, but easy to explain them out of Ezekiel's.[139]

This method of utilizing the criterion of ideas has played a large part in the views of the Old Testament commonly accepted at the present time. And there is a good reason for this. In all historical study the documentary evidence, provided it exists at all, must be the controlling evidence. It is the first duty of the historian to register the phenomena of his documents and to start from these in any attempted reconstruction. Yet there are two other factors which must be reckoned with in estimating the value of the criterion of ideas. In the first place, an idea may be unintelligible or seemingly allusive because it is inchoate. When is an idea unintelligible because it is inchoate and when is it unintelligible because it is allusive? To decide this question is not always easy. In the second place, the school of criticism which uses this criterion most freely also admits that the documents we now have in the Old Testament represent only the

[139] Cf. Stade's formulation of this principle above, p. 20 f., and n. 42.

wrecks of pre-exilic literature. But when this is recognized, the method of argument just described becomes at times somewhat precarious.[140] Of two passages in which the same idea occurs, will the allusive passage always be subsequent to the self-explanatory, and in case the allusive passage is ascribed to an earlier writer, must its genuineness necessarily be denied? May not both the allusive and the self-explanatory passage alike depend, at times, upon some primitive tradition, either written or oral, but now lost? In that case the origin of an idea may be, hypothetically, much earlier than the time of its first appearance in a given document. Late documents may now be likened to fossil beds; the literary strata may be very late, but many ancient ideas may be found in them.[141] The criticism which thus seeks to get back of the documentary evidence in its investigation of the development of ideas may be called, for want of a better name, the archaeological school of criticism as distinct from the documentary.[142] Yet at one point the schools are in striking agreement. Both start from the assumption, usually a correct one, that a passage in which an idea is only allusively or obscurely referred to is secondary. The difference between them lies in this, that, whereas the literary school tries to show that the allusive passage is secondary to some known document in which the idea is more clearly developed, the archaeological school raises the question whether both passages may not at times be secondary to a still earlier and undocumented tradition. The result of the application of this suggestion to the study of the religion of Israel in general or to Isaiah in particular may easily become revolutionary. For example, the neo-critical school argued that because an idea was alien to Isaiah, therefore it was spurious and *therefore later,* but the archaeological school argues that, if an idea is alien to Isaiah, therefore it *may* be earlier. But if earlier, it is quite conceiv-

140 To take an illustration out of another field, an analysis of the development of the doctrine of the Trinity should not place too much weight on the fact, even though it is a very interesting one, that the word *trinitas* first occurs, so far as we know, in Tertullian (*Ad Prax.*, c. 2).

141 Compare the "Priests Code".

142 See above, n. 3.

able that in spite of its alien character Isaiah may have borrowed it. The archaeological school thus seeks to develop the strategy of a flanking movement against the attack of the neo-critical forces.

But this is by no means all of it. Has anything really been gained, it might be asked, for the defense of the disputed passages in Isaiah? Is not the idea in question *still* alien and can it, therefore, even yet be admitted to be genuine? At this point the second main feature in archaeological criticism comes to view. It scorns the psychologizing of the neo-critical school. If it can only be once established that a given idea is older than Isaiah but is now found in Isaiah's prophecies, its genuineness cannot be rejected just because it happens to be out of touch with Isaiah's thinking. By the time it gets to Isaiah the idea may have lost its original meaning and become simply a convention and Isaiah may have used it without being aware of its real conflict with his views. Luther undoubtedly carried a large amount of Roman Catholic ballast over into Protestantism without being aware of its inner disagreement with his own fundamental conceptions. Why may not Isaiah have done the same? Thus the attempts of the neo-critics always to relate a given idea in Isaiah to his other ideas, and, if this cannot be done, to declare it to be spurious is, it is claimed, an illegitimate attempt at psychologizing. But how can it be proved that a given idea is earlier than Isaiah, or the eighth-century prophets? In certain cases, it is maintained, by a very easy method. If the idea is *mythical*, it is primitive and therefore pre-prophetic. At this point the archaeological school advances beyond the limits of the Old Testament into the field of comparative religions in order to point out analogies and show the essentially mythical character of certain ideas that had never before been suspected. Thus, over against the neo-critical insistence a) upon the criterion of ideas, b) upon their documentation within the Old Testament canon, and c) upon psychological considerations in the endeavor to relate them to each other, the archaeologists lay the emphasis a) upon the great body of undocumented tradition of which there are many hints in the documents themselves, b) upon the larger background of ancient oriental thought

outside the canonical scriptures, and c) upon the mythological character of much of this tradition and thought. In a word, where the neo-critic insists upon psychology, the archaeological critic is apt to insist upon mythology. Now the danger in archaeological criticism is even more apparent than in literary criticism. As soon as the historian leaves his documents, he embarks on the uncharted sea of conjecture. Still, that is what Columbus did, and he discovered a continent. It remains to be seen whether the archaeological critic will be as successful.

Gunkel may fairly be called the founder of the archaeological school. He was very happy in his choice of a field in which to try out the new method. "In his *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (1895) he proved that in many passages in the Bible, and particularly in the first chapters of Genesis, there are borrowings, reminiscences, and allusions which can be traced to the Babylonian Cosmogonic Poems. The method he pursued was to take many phrases, words, and ideas in the Bible, and show that by themselves they were unintelligible; to be understood they must be set in a larger context. The Babylonian creation epic furnishes this context. In the application of the method it appeared that many ideas which are now found only in late portions of the Bible and which, for this reason, were supposed to be themselves late, had a long antecedent history in Hebrew literature and tradition. Gunkel himself suggested that the same method should be applied to the subject of Hebrew eschatology generally, and in (Bousset und Gunkel) *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Heft I (1903) he sketched out a history of the eschatological idea of the Day of the Lord on the basis of this new method of research. But it remained for Gressmann in his *Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (1906) to subject for the first time the whole problem of Old Testament eschatology to a reexamination in the light of Gunkel's new method".[143] But at the outset it should be observed that in dealing with the ἔσχατα Gressmann is at a decided disadvantage as compared with Gunkel who dealt with the πρῶτα. Gunkel had actual

[143] See for the above paragraph the authors article in the Harvard Theological Review, Oct. 1913, p. 504.

documents to fall back on, even if they were not biblical documents. The Babylonian accounts of creation were in existence. But there is no epic of the end of the world. There is no eschatological myth as there is a creation myth, at least there is none such that is clearly recognizable. The application of the new method to eschatology is therefore beset with far more pitfalls than was its application to the creation myth.

Now it is from the point of view of archaeological criticism that Gunkel and, especially, Gressmann attempt to defend the genuineness of those prophecies in Isaiah which the neo-critical school have so vigorously assailed. Into an examination of the various conjectures of these scholars, often brilliant, sometimes convincing, it is impossible to enter. It is enough to note that in the following four particulars which immediately concern us they have either proved their case or at least the benefit of the doubt may be allowed them. 1) They have proved with certainty that the doctrine of the Day of the Lord existed before Amos in a popular form. It was a day in which Jahweh was to deliver his people. The prophets moralized this popular nationalist doctrine and turned the day of deliverance into one of destruction because of the people's sins.[144] 2) They have made probable the pre-prophetic[145] existence of the doctrine of the Remnant, also in a popular form in which Israel was the Remnant. This, of course, depends upon the genuineness and interpretation of Amos 5 15. The genuineness of this verse is not undisputed, yet usually accepted, as for example by even so radical a critic as Marti. Its interpretation is not so certain, but the interpretation by the archaeological school, according to which the Remnant is identified with Joseph, is certainly attractive. 3) They have also maintained the pre-prophetic character of the doctrine of the Messiah. This was supposed to be originally a mythological conception which later became attached to the Davidic dynasty and so historicised. A main proof for this thesis, and it is certainly a striking one, is the connection of the Golden Age with the Twig of Jesse in Is. 11. 4) Finally, Gressmann has produced

[144] This much has always been recognized by the neo-critical school; the implications of Amos 5 18 are too plain to be ignored.

[145] 'Pre-prophetic' is used by Gressmann of the period before Amos.

considerable evidence that the Gog prophecy in Ezekiel is not simply "the child of reflection" which it is usually taken to be, but contains many mythological and therefore pre-historic elements. But we have seen that the Messianic and especially the anti-Assyrian prophecies have been brought down to a later date partly because of their striking similarity to the *theologoumena* of Ezekiel. Thus Gunkel and Gressmann seek to cut in behind the neo-critical school and to show that the main features of the eschatology of hope which were supposed to be late post-exilic are in reality early pre-prophetic, having existed in popular form long before the eighth-century prophets, and some of them, because of their mythological character, being even pre-historic. This position may be regarded as the major premise of the archaeological school. Granting it to be true for the sake of the argument, does the archaeological school provide an adequate system of defense based on this premise to meet the attack of the neo-critics? I shall confine myself in what follows to a discussion of Gressmann's and Sellin's positions because these have been the most elaborately worked out.[146]

II. Gressmann and Sellin.

Gressmann begins by attacking the criteria utilized by the documentary school to cast doubt on the genuineness of the eschatology of hope. 1) In the first place, the criterion of language is inadequate, especially when drawn from a comparatively few verses. The justice of this criticism is increasingly recognized by scholars. Attention has already been called to the very subordinate place the argument occupies in the discussion of the disputed doctrines in Isaiah.[147] 2) The argument from difficulties in style, defective parallelisms etc. in the disputed prophecies is held to be equally unconvincing, for, it is claimed, the same phenomena meet us in the undisputed passages. This generalization needs considerable qualification. It is not true that the prophecies of doom, taken as a whole, are as stylistically defective as the prophecies of hope. The latter have not the charm

[146] See in particular *Ursprung*, pp. 238—250.

[147] See above p. 72.

of "winged words" which is so characteristic of the genuine passages. Further, Gressmann fails to draw a distinction between the stylistic defectiveness of a passage due to text-corruption and the stylistic defectiveness of a passage which is an inherent quality of it, where the stammering tongue betrays the stammering mind.[148] But the argument by which Gressmann seeks to support his criticism of the criteria of language and style is the really important thing. He claims that neither of these criteria can be successfully utilized because of the hopeless state of corruption of the original texts. This corruption is by no means due only to accident; it is attributable very largely to intentional changes. Even the original authors may have worked over their speeches and made them more prosaic![149] One wonders just what the purpose of such a performance might be. "Again, later exegetes and copyists have remodeled the text... emending, supplementing, abbreviating, explaining ... just as happens in hymn-books to-day"[150]. Thus the argument against the genuineness of a passage drawn from its vocabulary and style is met by the assertion that, owing to extensive textual changes both accidental and deliberate, it is difficult to say just what the vocabulary and style originally were. "Our attitude toward the text must be in principle suspicious".[151] 3) But a third objection is advanced, which is most far-reaching in character and leads from the criticism of the criteria of vocabulary and style to the criticism of the criterion of ideas. It is a consideration which seems to be advanced in order to meet the objection drawn from the fact that the Messianic passages were never referred to by Isaiah's immediate successors. In the prophecies of hope, we are told, the prophets were peculiarly dependent upon the popular mythological eschatology: "The content is only to a limited extent their own original product; how far the form is

[148] Compare 2 6-22 (a badly corrupted text) with c. 4 (a badly corrupted style).

[149] *Ursprung*, p. 240.

[150] *Ib.*

[151] *Ib.* At this point Gressmann and Harold Wiener are remarkably alike in their apologetic method, though in everything else they are poles apart.

theirs we cannot know. But when we reflect how relatively many are the mythological elements contained in the few passages of eschatological hope, we will not dare to deny that the prophets also depended in their expressions on their predecessors".[152] From this alleged dependence upon the earlier eschatology Gressmann infers that we are not to expect a recurrence of their characteristic style and ideas, "since they are absolutely isolated, and speak of things which are never touched upon elsewhere in a peculiar way".[153]

All this means, if the logic of Gressmann's first three arguments is accepted, an almost total lack of originality in the hopes of the eighth-century prophets. The texts have been so badly preserved that we cannot be sure of what the original style was. And even when we get back to the approximately original texts, we find that both the style and ideas are borrowed from earlier undocumented sources. Gressmann arrives at the revolutionary conclusion that *ideas no longer can serve as a critical criterion.* The only valid criterion he admits is the historical background.[154] This means, in principle, the abandonment of most of the hard-won results of neo-criticism, which, as we have seen, operates principally with the criterion of ideas, the abandonment even of any attempt to criticise the tradition implied in the present position of a prophecy in a given book, unless its historical background is clearly proved to be later, as in the case of the Babylonian prophecies. Dogma in the guise of tradition is thus practically reinstated. But why is Gressmann so sceptical of the traditional text and so trusting with respect to the traditional arrangements of the canon? A classic illustration of the lengths to which our author is prepared to go is found in his treatment of Is. 9 1–6.[155] Gressmann's analysis of the real character of this passage is probably correct. It is by

[152] P. 241. An admission, by the way, that the style in these prophecies *did* differ considerably from the style in the doom prophecies.

[153] P. 242. He says of Is. 9 1 ff. that the earlier it is dated, the more likely it is to have preserved an ancient tradition which later faded away completely, p. 283.

[154] P. 243.

[155] Pp. 279—284.

no means a self-explanatory passage and is full of difficulties on the supposition of its Isaianic authorship. These difficulties are fully admitted by Gressmann, but they make no more impression on his view of its genuineness than they would upon a post-Reformation theologian's. The general style of the passage, we are told, is not Isaiah's; it belongs either to the 'court' style or the 'eschatological' style, and in either case is borrowed from traditional formulas. The particular form of the passage must not be attributed to him; it is too loosely put together to be the work of such an excellent stylist. Lastly the ideas are not Isaiah's; they are mythical and hence could not have originated with him, but must have been borrowed from primitive tradition. I have never before chanced upon an apologetic method which seeks to defend the genuineness of a passage by pointing out that in not one single particular has it any relationship to the reputed author's style or thought.[156] Such a defense has the merit of originality, at any rate. Can the existence of a conventional style and a body of conventional ideas, by the assumption of which this astonishing result is achieved, really take the place of the coherence of thought which we have a right to expect in a man of Isaiah's mental powers? This raises once more the question of the legitimacy of the criterion of ideas in critical discussion. But before this can be more fully treated it is necessary to consider the way in which Gressmann disposes of another objection raised against the genuineness of the hope prophecies by the documentary school. 4) This objection is drawn from the contexts of most of the disputed prophecies. They stand in the most impossible contexts, and from this their spuriousness has been inferred. Gressmann, as usual, admits the premise but denies the conclusion. He turns the argument in the same way as he sought to turn the preceding arguments. The lack of connections observable in the case of the hope prophecies are also seen in the case of the doom prophecies. *All* the prophetic

[156] Gressmann seeks to avoid the inevitable consequences of his position when he says: "Because of the dependence of the prophets upon such a conventionalized style, their originality, of course must not be minimized though it cannot always be proved in detail" (p. 281). This assertion in general of what is denied in particular fails to carry any conviction.

utterances are fragmentary and unconnected. The analogy is drawn between them and the synoptic Gospels in which so many unconnected logia are found.[157] Thus Gressmann adopts the fragmentary hypothesis of Isaiah in its extremest form and makes capital out of it for his own purposes. Everything in the book being fragmentary, the argument from the lack of connection is claimed to be no longer pertinent. This counter is ingenious but not adequate. The neo-critical argument is not simply from the lack of connection, but from the *contradictory character of the connection* which is established in the present compilation. The analogy with the Gospels would be more exact if, after every passage which opposed the legalism of the Pharisees, we should find a passage which would support that legalism, such as we actually do find at Mt. 5 19. The prophecies of hope not only lack organic connection with their contexts, they usually paralyse the prophecies of doom, and this is done so regularly as to appear to be deliberate. Gressmann feels this difficulty and introduces a new consideration in order to meet it, namely, Style. Possibly the juxtaposition of hope and doom "is the remnant of an eschatological style according to which the singer first recited a song that treated of the time of doom and in immediate connection therewith another song that glorified the time of blessing. *We cannot adequately estimate the mighty power of the Style*".[158] In the American Journal of Theology for 1913 (p. 176) Gressmann suggests a somewhat different explanation: "The promises are as different from the threats as love songs from funeral dirges. . . . But unless special reasons force us to do so, we have no right to establish a connection between a threat and a promise, for a poem rounded out in itself is not to be joined to another poem complete in itself. This simple consideration disposes of nearly all the arguments against the authenticity of . . . the Messianic hopes . . . It is said the prophet could not threaten and promise at one and the same time. But he does not do so. The conjunction of the two is purely arbitrary. But there is no reason why a prophet should not threaten at one time and promise at another, just as the poet may now mourn the death of a friend and again sing as

[157] P. 239. [158] P. 244.

a lover". A simple consideration indeed! Granted that the poet may sing a dirge or a love-ditty at different times, is it his habit to combine them: dirge and ditty, dirge and ditty, dirge and ditty? Is it not possible to group poems of similar nature together? The compiler of the Lamentations certainly had a sense of the fitness of things and so did the compiler of Songs; if Lamentations and Songs were combined together, we would no doubt have a new and remarkable instance of Gressmann's "style" and just about as intelligible as the examples we now find in Isaiah. But Gressmann's analogy breaks down at another point. Isaiah is neither a troubadour nor a professional elegist. He is a prophet, and a prophet who, on Gressmann's own showing, took his work very seriously. The dirge-and-ditty theory cannot possibly apply to his work. Why should a prophet whose message is one of warning (c. 6) regularly accompany it with happy tunes. Is it conceivable that Isaiah deliberately set about to polarize his own lightning in this fashion? Even Gressmann seems to have qualms at this point. He is not quite clear at times as to whether the sequence of fear and hope is due to the original author or to the compiler. If the later alternative is adopted, Gressmann's defense of the genuineness of the hope passages is seriously weakened. Once admit the compiler's hand in these suspicious sequences, and the question will inevitably be raised whether his work consists *only* in arrangement. If the later revisers are ready to emend texts as freely as Gressmann admits, what is to hinder them from supplementing the ancient oracles by observations of their own? On the other hand, if the prophets themselves were responsible for these sequences, is not their mental integrity seriously compromised? Thus far Gressmann has sought to meet (as I believe unavailingly) the argument from vocabulary, style, ideas, and contextual relationships against the genuineness of the hope prophecies. But there is a fifth argument against them which Gressmann admits to be the strongest of all. 5) The fact of the contradictory connections between the threats and the hopes cannot be properly estimated apart from the further fact that the eschatology of hope is in fundamental opposition to the eschatology of doom. In view of this second fact the

present artificial connections between the two groups gains a new significance. It is noticeable that Gressmann does not bring these two objections together as he should do; he prefers to destroy them separately. In this he follows the Hengstenberg-Keil method of apologetic, which always went on the supposition that critical arguments follow the analogy of a chain which is destroyed when its separate links are broken, and not the analogy of a rope which is by no means rendered useless even though separate strands may be severed. But Gressmann places himself squarely on the neo-critical hypothesis that the pre-exilic prophets are messengers of doom, and he distinguishes these "stormy petrels" from those birds of calm, the post-exilic prophets who preach hope. However, says Gressmann, the prophets were after all human beings. They were patriots; they loved their nation. We cannot expect them to be everywhere and always absolutely logical. They must have yielded at times to the popular hopes. The few, and Gressmann admits there are but few, genuine prophecies of hope, are the concessions which they made to the popular eschatology.[159] This sounds plausible and psychologically quite intelligible as an abstract proposition.[160] It appeals to us of the present day. Moreover (and here Gressmann plays his trump card), the documentary critic must admit that at one point Isaiah actually took over one of the great doctrines in the eschatology of hope, namely the doctrine of the Remnant. But "with [the acceptance of] the doctrine of the Remnant, the rigid eschatology of doom is broken through. A breach has now been made through which the whole, or at least the greater part, of the eschatology of hope can enter. Whether a little more or a little less, that was left to the taste of the individual prophet".[161] Bud did Isaiah have a taste for the old popular eschatology of hope with its many mythical features, which Gressmann takes particular pains to tell us must be pre-prophetic because it could not possibly have arisen out of the advanced ethical theology of the prophets? How are we to decide this question? We

[159] P. 242 ff., 236, 68.

[160] Perhaps at this point Gressmann himself does not escape the danger of modernizing the prophets which the neo-critics are supposed to run.

[161] P. 243.

have just three data to guide us: a) The precise definition of his message given by the prophet himself in the account of his call (c. 6), namely, to announce the doom of the nation; b) the general historical and religious situation which is known with some particularity—a time of political crisis occasioned by the Assyrian advance and a time of ethical abuses and religious apostasy; c) finally, our estimate of the man's creative power, which can be gathered from his undisputed prophecies and which show him to be a man of genius. Now, to hold that a man of such force and originality, a man, also, of such literary skill, profoundly convinced as he was of the people's apostasy from God and with no evidence of their repentance, should be responsible for the artificial sequences of fear and hope existing in the present book is simply inconceivable. Scorn of psychologizing criticism and the suggestion that Isaiah is dependent in the present arrangement of his prophecies upon a prophetic style are trivial. The present connections cannot be his work. But once more the question presses: May the prophecies be by him even though the connections between them are not? Here the point urged by Gressmann must be admitted. Isaiah did borrow the thought of the Remnant in all probability out of the popular eschatology of hope. But this very example, instead of making in favor of Gressmann's thesis, makes decidedly against it, for the thought of the Remnant, which seems to have been without any clear moral significance in the popular eschatology, has been moralized by Isaiah in exactly the same way as the popular eschatological doctrine of the Day of the Lord was moralized by Amos. When Isaiah adds his יָשׁוּב to שְׁאָר at 7 3 and follows this up by a promise of deliverance only on condition of faith (7 9), he has infused a profound moral meaning into the idea of the Remnant. The Remnant implies punishment for sin and is thus connected with the eschatology of doom; but the "shall return" implies repentance and thus the modulation from doom to hope which the Remnant idea implies is given a deeply ethical significance.[162] Thus, in the case of the Remnant, we

[162] Professor J. M. P. Smith's recently proposed solution of the name שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב (ZATW, 1914, pp. 219—224) which robs it of its spiritual meaning, seems to me to be against the context with its insistence upon faith.

really have a detail out of the eschatology of hope taken over by the prophet but characteristically fused with his own distinctive doctrines. The contrast at this point with the disputed eschatological doctrines is most instructive. For example, if Isaiah had really adopted the doctrine of the Messianic King out of the tradition as Gressmann maintains, we would certainly expect him to have assimilated it to his own thinking more fully than according to Gressmann's representations he actually did do. Our author's interpretation of 7 14, 9 1–6, 11 1ff. is only a new confirmation of the neo-critical contentions that the idea of the Messiah was fundamentally alien to Isaiah's thinking. Granted that he might have adopted such a doctrine out of the popular eschatology, would he not have excluded from it the mythical elements which in Gressmann's view were attached to it and which conflicted with his theology? Was he not a clear enough and logical enough thinker to do that? Gressmann himself speaks of the "grand one-sidedness" of the eighth-century prophets.[163] They follow out a premise to its bitter conclusion. Are such men likely to confuse their thinking by the admission into it of popular elements which would compromise their theology and their exhortations at the same time?[164] What is true of the Messianic group is preeminently true of the anti-Assyrian group. They are much less moralized than the Messianic prophecies[165] and are admitted

163 "The more we sink ourselves in them the more we discover upon what an isolated height they stand, in their grand one-sidedness without compare" (p. 141).

164 It is not denied that there are certain moral features and that, too, attractive ones, in the portraiture of the Messiah in Is. cc. 9 and 11, but it is claimed the figure does not embody the peculiar religious and ethical interests of Isaiah in the way we would expect, if he was its painter (cf. above, pp. 37—40, 64). He does not relate the doctrine of the Messianic King to his message of doom, or to his doctrine of faith, or to his doctrine of of the Remnant.

165 10 12 might be thought to inject a moralizing tone into the greatest of the anti-Assyrian prophecies and because of this it was defended by Hackmann (see above n. 107). But the style of the verse makes heavily against it and, further, it is interesting to observe how the chastisement of Judah is pushed into a subordinate clause. It becomes only a passing incident in the development of Jahweh's plan which, when v. 12 is accepted as genuine, really culminates in the destruction of Assyria and the deliver-

by Gressmann to be out of harmony with their contexts and with the essence of Isaiah's message.[166] But we are asked to believe that he uttered these oracles, though they were opposed to his profoundest convictions and most prejudicial to the effect of his message, as concessions to the people, and because his patriotism and natural instincts prompted him to indulge in these fancies, and that the extent to which he indulged in them was only a matter of taste! This might do for other prophets, but not for Isaiah. In his case, if anywhere, the criterion of ideas would seem to be applicable. Judged by the commission originally given him, by the demands of his times, and by the creative power displayed in the undisputed prophecies, the unorganized and contradictory character of the eschatology of hope, exclusive of the Remnant idea, must arouse the gravest suspicion. Therefore, is not the neo-critical denial of its genuineness legitimate? By no means, says Gressmann. Such a conclusion ignores the fact of STYLE.

Style—that is the final word in Gressmann's defense of the eschatology of hope in Isaiah. Let us see just how this golden key is perfectly fitted to unlock all the mysteries which have hitherto barred the way to an intelligible theory of Isaiah's prophecies if the great body of cc. 1—39 is accepted as genuine. To begin with, while the disorganization of the eschatology of hope is admitted, we must not take it too seriously. The eschatology of doom is also fragmentary. But just as each half of the whole eschatological construction is disintegrated, so the connection between the two halves is disintegrated. Isaiah is not to be blamed for this state of affairs. Both the eschatology of doom and the eschatology of hope had already become disintegrated before they reached him. Gressmann assumes that in prehistoric times there was a great myth of the destruction of the world and its subsequent restoration, and that the eschatologies of doom and hope both go back to this myth. But by the time these fragments reached the prophets their original connections had been largely forgotten and they had ceased to

ance of Judah, according to the present form of the chapter. 10 21-23 can only be defended as Isaiah's when separated from their anti-Assyrian context, and even then they are very doubtful.

[166] Cf. pp. 177—179 with special reference to 8 9 f., 17 11 ff., 29 7.

have any clear and definite meaning. Their ideas had become transformed in the popular eschatology into mere conventions, in other words into a style! Because the prophets adopted these faded-out mythological ideas and the technical terms in which they were expressed from tradition as a part of a conventional eschatological apparatus, they did not trouble themselves about the exact meanings either of the ideas or the terminology, and for the same reason the modern exegete is absolved from all responsibility to discover the original meaning of many of these eschatological details. It is not necessary, we are told, for a style to have any meaning.[167] Thus mythology, faded-out into a convention, a style, takes the place of psychology in criticism and interpretation.[168] How far Gressmann is willing to drive this argument at times is seen in his exposition, if it can be called such, of Is. 7 14. The prophet was using materials furnished by the tradition, which had ceased to have any clearly defined meaning. Thus all the difficulties which have from time immemorial plagued the psychologizing exegesis in its attempts to find a meaning in this passage are airily brushed aside by the assumption that the ideas in this oracle had little meaning for Isaiah himself. The ideas had already become very largely only style for Isaiah; they need remain only style for us also.[169]

[167] "Where there is a style no one asks whether is has any sense or not" (p. 256, cf. 277, 311).

[168] Compare for the substitution of mythology for psychology pp. 193, 195, 196, 198, 216, 244, 253, 255 etc.

[169] Cf. pp. 270—278 "As soon as one assumes that the material is borrowed by Isaiah from the tradition, one is relieved of the above-mentioned difficulties [i. e. the difficulties which have always been found in the Immanuel prophecy]. For from now on one need no longer attach any importance to details, because they are not created *ad hoc* but are handed down in the tradition" (p. 276 f.). It is this utter irresponsibility in the exegesis of the archaeological school which must be deplored. There is undoubtedly a truth in this discovery of a style which must be reckoned with. Gressmann makes very suggestive use of it in his treatment of the idea of the Day of the Lord as expressed in Is. 2. But the fact of style is a fact which must be handled with the greatest care, or it will land him who trusts to it in absurdity. Style is a fire lit to consume away exegetical briars and thorns, but it soon gets beyond control, if one is not very careful.

But why did the prophet resort to these conventional ideas and this meaningless terminology? It was in order to lend his thoughts impressiveness. He spoke ἐν μυστηρίῳ. Can such suggestions really relieve the difficulties of 7 14? Can it be supposed that at one of the greatest crises of Isaiah's life, when, if ever, a message of vital significance was to be expected from him, the prophet was ready to indulge in abracadabra? The fact is, the more Gressmann resorts to style in his defense of the disputed passages, the more he is unconsciously driven to revive the patristic theory of prophecy in a new form. Clement of Alexandria compares Isaiah to the Pythian Apollo who is called Loxias, a title supposed to signify 'oblique',[170] and Tertullian tells us that "God conceals by his preparatory apparatus of prophetic obscurity, the understanding which is open to faith".[171] But is it really credible that a man of such mental integrity and profound seriousness of purpose as Isaiah would cultivate a prophetic style at the expense of prophetic sincerity? A defense of the genuineness of the disputed passages in which mythology and style have become substituted for moral meaning and coherence of thought is one which can afford little comfort, I fancy, to those who are still looking for some cement with which to mend the shattered unity of Isaiah.

But has this defense any scientific advantage over the hypothesis of the neo-critical school? Is it really more probable that the *disjecta membra* of the eschatology of hope were borrowed by Isaiah himself and scattered through his prophecies in the weird fashion in which we now find them, than that they were incorporated by editors of a later day? At this point Gressmann's own admission of revision threatens to undermine the defense which he has so laboriously built up. 6) "A final judgment [upon the question of genuineness] will be possible only when we get a clear idea of the literary composition of the prophetical books, and of the principles by which the sayings

[170] *Stromata*, V. 4.

[171] *Against Marcion*, IV. 25. It is interesting to see how followers of the Gunkel-Gressmann method also go back at times to the theory of the double sense of Scripture without being aware of it. Cf. Herrmann, *Der Messias aus Davids Geschlecht*, ZWTh, 1909, p. 264.

have been arranged."[172] This statement of Gressmann is fundamental. *The question of the genuineness of the disputed prophecies is bound up with the question of an adequate theory of compilation.* Such a theory the neo-critical school actually offers; the critical movement culminates in it,[173] but such a theory the archaeological school fails to offer. Yet the astonishing thing is that Gressmann unhesitatingly adopts the premises upon which the neo-critical theory of revision is based. a) As we have seen, he admits the most extensive revision in the text. But if the texts can be so drastically edited, may not the contents of certain passages also be due to later compilers? Is it not easier to suppose that the incongruous eschatological passages were inserted during the changed conditions after the exile than that Isaiah was guilty of such hackwork? b) This supposition is strengthened by another observation for which Gressmann is indebted to his opponents. He realizes how small a part the eschatology of hope plays in pre-exilic prophecy, but how it absorbs the attention and becomes more coherent in post-exilic prophecy. "What a strange riddle," he exclaims, "first the ruin [the fragmentary eschatology of the pre-exilic period], then the stately castle [the organized eschatology of the post-exilic period]".[174] How is this to be explained? It must be due, we are told, to two migrations of eschatological material into Palestine, one in prehistoric times, upon the fragments of which the early prophets depended, the second much later, when the fusion of oriental religions was much more pronounced.[175] But has not Gressmann endangered the success of his whole campaign by this admission? In attempting to flank the neo-critical attack by the assumption of a pre-prophetic eschatology, has he not exposed his own flank to a very dangerous counter attack? He admits the fact of later extensive revisions, and the fact that when they were made the interest in the eschatology of hope was paramount. What, then, is more natural than the neo-

[172] P. 243.

[173] See above p. 69.

[174] P. 247.

[175] Gressmann admits his indebtedness to Gunkel for this suggestion. See p. 247, n. 1.

critical theory, according to which the revision was made in the interest of this dominant eschatology? Gressmann is on the watch for just this use of his admissions. He answers: "One might be able to regard the mythical elements in the eschatology of hope which, in themselves, must be ancient, as possibly a post-exilic dependence of Israel upon another people; but these mythical fragments of the eschatology of hope are inseparably connected with the eschatology of doom. The Israelite religion would be an insoluble enigma if the two eschatologies . . . . which belong to each other as the two shells of a clam, had migrated into Israel at different times. With what probability could it be supposed that the Israelites borrowed all that was connected with doom before the exile and all that was connected with hope, carefully sifted from the doom, after the exile?"[176] This posing of the question, so far as it concerns the problem of the disputed passages in Isaiah, is entirely misleading. It leaves out of consideration another alternative. The question is not whether all doom entered Israel before the exile and all hope after it; it is whether, granted a pre-prophetic eschatology of hope as well as of doom, Isaiah absorbed the former as well as the latter. It is not only conceivable that Isaiah may have resisted the encroachments of the eschatology of hope, but altogether probable that he did do so. The incongruity of the eschatology of hope both with Isaiah's thought and in the arrangement of his prophecies is admitted by Gressmann. Is the creative genius of Isaiah so powerless in the presence of this traditional material as Gressmann's representations would imply? Gressmann is fond of picturing the various elements in the eschatology of hope as isolated stones or columns, the fragmentary ruins of a once glorious temple.[177] Is Isaiah so unimaginative an architect that he cannot build these fragments up again into something like unity, if he cared to do so? One of these fragments is the doctrine of the Remnant, and this fragment Isaiah *did* use most effectively. Why did he not use the doctrines of the Inviolability of Zion and the Messianic King in the same artistic way instead of in the mechanical way which Gressmann compels us to assume?

[176] P. 245.

[177] P. 238, cf. 232, 191.

What Gressmann's theory amounts to when reduced to its simplest terms is just this: He has substituted for the criterion of ideas a blind faith in tradition. Because the disputed doctrines are found attributed to Isaiah in the present anthology known as the Book of Isaiah, therefore they are by Isaiah. The utter confusion and disorganization in the book and in Isaiah's message which this tradition implies are of no moment. Their evidence can be explained away by the newly discovered solvent of all critical difficulties—Style. Once more the question must be pressed: Can such a theory have any scientific advantage over the theory of the neo-critical school?[178]

[178] At this point an adequate criticism of Sellin's work, *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus*, ought to be introduced, but limitations of time and space prevent any detailed discussion of it. A few remarks upon his general method and aims must suffice. 1) Sellin is an ardent champion of the archaeological method and with all Gressmann's zeal seeks to deduce from present documented obscurities earlier undocumented ideas. He is therefore an opponent of psychologizing in exegesis (cf. the discussion of principles, pp. 105—112, 167 f.) and an advocate of style (cf. p. 170). 2) But at an all-important point he introduces a modification of Gressmann. Gressmann operated extensively with mythology; eschatology for him, both in its threats and in its promises, was rooted in mythology. The most convincing proof that Gressmann has to offer that eschatology is pre-prophetic is the fact that it is mythological. But Sellin seems instinctively to feel the difficulty at this point. The more the mythological character of eschatology is emphasized, in order to prove its pre-prophetic origin, the less likely it becomes that the prophets would make use of it. Hence Sellin labors to substitute morals for mythology in the pre-prophetic eschatology. Sellin will have nothing to do with Gressmann's primeval eschatological myth which reached Israel in a thoroughly disintegrated state. Eschatology goes back to the experiences at Sinai. From the outset Jahweh has the quality of a world-king, but his kingship was to be only gradually manifested. "The origin of the entire Old Testament eschatology is found in the act of revelation at Sinai, through which the germinal hope of a future analogous appearance of Jahweh for the purpose of entering on his world rule, was implanted deep in the heart of the people" (p. 148). At the conquest Jahweh's kingship was partially manifested, but under the Canaanite and Philistine oppression it was gradually realized by the more thoughtful that its complete manifestation was still in the future (cf. p. 184, a lapse into the sin of psychologizing against which Sellin should have more carefully guarded himself). As king, Jahweh was to exercise the functions of

Conclusions.

But are we, then, to conclude that Gressmann's brilliant monograph is only a meteoric flash in the exegetical firmament? Far from it. Gressmann's defense of the disputed prophecies in

Judge and Savior, two thoughts which provide the basis for the eschatologies of doom and hope. These are no longer regarded as disconnected; they are united in the idea of Jahweh's functions as king (p. 132), and as the judgment and salvation are moralized by Sellin, the eschatology which is based on them also becomes moralized. The evidence for all this is admitted to be most meagre (p. 184 f.), and it may be added that such evidence as is offered is of a highly questionable character. Furthermore, Sellin's attempt to banish all mythology behind the mountain barrier of Sinai breaks down. To be sure, he tries to destroy the life of any myths that might chance to cross this mountain wall and to turn them into dead pictures and metaphors, and he suggests that most of the eschatological hopes take their coloring not from myths but from the historical experiences at Sinai and at the conquest of Palestine (cf. 146 ff., 167). But he admits that it is difficult to distinguish at times between the mythical and what he calls the historical (p. 147). In the case of the Messiah the distinction completely breaks down. Sellin finds the roots of the doctrine of the Messiah in the ancient oriental conception of a primeval man, a Paradise-King. But he must resort to hypothetical extra-biblical sources for this conception, since he admits it is not found in the account of Paradise in Gen. 2 and 3 (p. 183). 3) Sellin does not discuss the problem of the doctrine of the Inviolability of Zion, for, strictly speaking, it hardly belongs to his particular subject. Apart from the above very questionable speculations, he seeks to prove the ancient character of the Messianic idea from three groups of passages: a) Is. 7 14, which refers to the well-known 'almah of the eschatological tradition (cf. Gressmann), 9 1 ff., 11 1 ff.; b) the royal psalms, which, it is claimed, can only be explained by the supposition that the eschatological style has been adopted into the court style, and therefore, because these royal psalms must be pre-exilic, the eschatological style which they imply must be still earlier; and c) such passages as Gen. 49 10, the Balaam oracles, and Dt. 33 13 ff. (pp. 167—172). Sellin's use of Is. 7 14 is like Gressmann's and that has already been sufficiently considered. The last group of passages will be considered hereafter, and it will be shown that they make *against* the originality of the Messianic hopes in Isaiah. The argument for the early date of the doctrine of the Messiah drawn from the royal psalms is of the most precarious character, but even if it is granted, it cannot be used to support the genuineness of the disputed passages in Isaiah any more than Gen. 49 19, the Balaam oracles and Dt. 33 13 (see below). 4) And here we arrive at the fundamental weakness of Sellin's

Isaiah is a failure; yet I believe archaeological criticism, when soberly used, will prove to be a valuable corrective to the method of documentary criticism. He has established with great probability the fact of a mythological background for eschatology and therefore a background of high antiquity, out of which much that has hitherto escaped attention gains a new significance and much that has been a source of perplexity is explained. If the fact of a pre-prophetic eschatology is once accepted and combined with one further fact to which Gressmann calls attention, an entirely new perspective is opened up in which to view the problem of Isaiah. The passage in which this combination is made is so important that I venture to quote it at length. "Since eschatology is earlier than Amos, there must have once existed before our canonical worthies certain prophetical schools which glorified the eschatological facts in word and song. The Nebi'im emerge in Samuel's day. In their circles ecstasy was cultivated, which flamed out especially at times of national excitement. Religious patriotism was constantly kindled anew by these men,

book. He assumes that, if once the pre-prophetic date of the Messianic eschatology is accepted, the genuineness of the disputed passages in Isaiah has been established. "We are certain", he says, "that this expectation [of a Messiah] is primitive, already in existence in the prophetic period, and that *in consequence the Tradition as to the origin of the most of the Messianic passages in the scriptures of this period is trustworthy*" (p. 172, see above, p. 93). In view of this assumption, Sellin feels himself to be relieved of the obligation to discuss what we have seen to be the controlling factor in the whole problem, namely the peculiar method of compiling the Book of Isaiah. This point is referred to but once, so far as I have observed, and then very briefly. Sellin advances the two explanations already proposed by Gressmann (see above, p. 82 ff.). Either the prophecies of threat and hope were uttered at different times and were later brought together by compilers, or it may have been a "poetic-prophetic" style to connect them as they are now connected (p. 149). It is unnecessary to repeat the criticisms already passed upon these suggestions. In Sellin's work we have only one more example of the tendency of thought to move in cycles and return to its original starting-points. Gressmann sought to defend the originality of the Messianic passages by the archaeological method of exegesis and the assumption of a great pre-historic eschatological myth. Sellin adopts the exegetical method, rejects the myth in part and goes back only to Sinai. It remains for a still more resolute spirit to rehabilitate Hengstenberg's *Christologie*.

and at times they took a hand in the political crises. These pre-canonical and extra-canonical prophets were half politicians, half soothsayers; only we must deny to them on the average the ethical and religious greatness of our prophets. Although it is not recorded, there is nothing to hinder the supposition that the Nebi'im already cultivated eschatology[179] and handed down the stylistic forms which the canonical prophets made use of. From whom should the latter have received their traditions, if not from those who bore the same name with them? We must ... hold that in the ancient period ... the Nebi'im cultivated eschatology in its entirety, but in the form which we have characterized as popular. Afterwards, beginning with Amos, *a cleavage arose within prophecy, in consequence of which the prophetical development ran parallel to the popular development*".[180] This passage gives food for thought. Gressmann makes use of it to defend the eschatology of hope in Isaiah. Granted the existence of both a pre-prophetic eschatology of hope and also of doom, which "belong together like the two shells of a clam, how should one group of the prophets have sung exclusively of disaster while the other group sang exclusively of hope"?[181] But may not the argument be just reversed, and the connection established by Gressmann between uncanonical prophecy and the eschatology of hope be an additional argument against its genuineness? Here the following facts are to be considered.

1) Gressmann points out how the uncanonical prophets probably utilized the current eschatology in an aggressive nationalistic interest.[182] They were the one hundred per cent patriots of their day. Isaiah, like Jeremiah, was nothing of the kind. Throughout his life he was opposed to the political ventures of Judah. Would such a man have a "taste" for an eschatology that was proclaimed in the interest of a dangerous nationalism? 2) Again, Gressmann argues that because the doom and the hope sides of eschatology belong to each other as the two shells of a clam, it is unlikely

[179] The priests may also be included (cf. Volz, ThLZ 1906, Col. 675).
[180] P. 155 ff.
[181] Pp. 156, 245.
[182] See also above, n. 95, end.

that the uncanonical and the canonical prophets, like the walrus and the carpenter, divided up the bivalves so exactly between them.[183] But elsewhere, when Gressmann wishes to account for the present impossible sequences in Isaiah, he is at pains to demonstrate that the original connection between the two clam-shells had been completely broken down and the prophets themselves were no longer conscious of it. In that case Isaiah may very easily have selected those elements in the popular eschatology which could be made to emphasize his message and have rejected those elements which confused it. 3) As a matter of fact, that is just what he did do in the case of the doctrines of the Day of the Lord and the Remnant. He reformulated them in opposition to the popular eschatology. Was it likely that he would insert into his great prophetic construction still other blocks of the eschatology of hope without attempting to square them off into some sort of symmetry with the rest of his material?[184] On the contrary, if Gressmann's theory of the existence of a popular pre-prophetic eschatology is accepted, have we not a new gauge of the forcefulness and originality of Isaiah? He resisted the temptation to yield to the pseudo-patriotism of his day or to encourage its false hopes. Thus Gressmann supplies just the background needed to throw the isolated grandeur of our prophet into strong relief. But he does something more than this. 4) His theory of a pre-prophetic popular eschatology furnishes at once a needed corrective and a welcome support to the neo-critical theory of the compilation of Isaiah. This theory tended to transfer all the eschatology of hope to the exilic or post-exilic periods. The result was that the Messianic eschatology appeared to be too much of a surprise in the historical development. It arose too suddenly, was too little prepared for; hence the attempt in the neo-critical school to explain it as a 'child of reflection'. Gressmann's protest against this is timely. He calls attention to many elements in the eschatology of hope

[183] P. 156.

[184] It is interesting to observe how Sellin (pp. 186—190) admits that Isaiah and the other prophets set much of their own eschatology into the sharpest antithesis to the popular eschatology, but in the case of the Messiah this was not done. Why not?

(especially the golden age) which cannot well be so explained. The documentary critics, or at least their popularizers, have too often made the same mistake here as they have made in the case of the P material. Because its present form and meaning are late, the fact is often overlooked that a large part of its contents is not only pre-exilic but actually primitive in origin. Gressmann's investigations supply the means by which the post-exilic eschatology can be recognized as organically connected with the past without at the same time endangering the neo-critical theory. They go to show that the Messianic eschatology had its roots sunk deep into the past, though they were sunk, not in the soil of pre-exilic canonical prophecy as Gressmann and Sellin maintain, but in the soil of pre-exilic uncanonical prophecy.[185] Even in that case it sprang out of the deep rich soil of history and was not simply the fruit of reflection. It is not only conceivable but highly probable, in view of what has been said, that Amos, Isaiah, and Micah, and possibly Hosea, set their faces as a flint against the popular eschatology of their day, whereas the later prophets may not have done so as consistently.[186] The changed historical situation would easily account

[185] When Volz (pp. 74—78) suggested that the doctrine of the Messiah appeared in connection with the Deuteronomic reforms, he, too, evidently felt the difficulty of supposing that it sprang into existence fully developed, and therefore he suggested that this doctrine had been previously cultivated by the uncanonical prophets (pp. 88, 91).

[186] In this connection I would raise the question whether a much larger amount of material in the Old Testament than is commonly supposed did not originate within the circles which we are accustomed to characterize as uncanonical prophets. Strictly speaking, the use of the terms 'canonical' and 'uncanonical' prophets is inaccurate in this connection. At the time when this material was composed there was of course no division between canonical and uncanonical prophets, for there was as yet no canon. Our prophets speak of their opponents as 'false' prophets. But would the distinction between the false and the true prophets have always been obvious to contemporaries? By no means. Furthermore it would be as much against historical analogy to suppose that all the prophets of the eighth century were bad except Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah as it would be to suppose that all Pharisees in New Testament times were bad. There must have been gradations of all sorts within the general movement of prophecy. Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah were four individuals within this general movement, who held a common

for the changed attitude, and from the time of Ezekiel on, the eschatology of hope could easily gain an ascendency over the eschatology of doom. The development of Messianic eschatology

point of view. But it was a minority point of view, and so far as we can gather it had little effect upon their contemporaries. There must also have been a considerable literature representing majority opinions. Just because it *did* represent majority opinion, that is, current opinion, it could easily lapse into the anonymity which is the usual characteristic of Semitic literature. On the other hand, the very fact that the writings of the four great prophets differed so startlingly from the writings of their contemporaries would tend to the preservation of the names of their authors, especially when their attitude was, at least, in part, justified by the events. Now the point of all this is, that it is altogether probable that we have also preserved to us prophecies or poetry which represented the majority views. Sachsse, who admits gradations among the uncanonical prophets (*Die Propheten des A. T. und ihre Gegner*, p. 8) should go further and also admit gradations in the prophetical literature which afterwards became canonized. The fact that the majority views were not always vindicated by the event would by no means signify that they would be ultimately repudiated altogether. They expressed the general hopes and beliefs of the people, and people are not so ready to give up what they like, even though they have incurred disappointments in holding on to it. One clear case of a prophecy representing the popular point of view, though out of a somewhat later time, is that of Nahum. There are also a few precious fragments out of a much earlier time which reflect the same general point of view. These are the poems or prophecies upon which Gressmann and Sellin especially rely to prove a pre-prophetic eschatology of hope. They are Judges 5, Gen. 49, Dt. 33 and the Balaam oracles (Numbers 23, 24). These fragments are generally supposed to antedate the prophetic movement. In all of them a very intense nationalism is expressed. Now it is a striking fact that instead of building upon the ideas in these fragments, our eighth-century prophets are in violent opposition to them. Indeed, it almost seems, at times, as if they were consciously preaching against them. The significance of this antithesis so far as I have observed has been largely overlooked. a) Compare the blessings upon Joseph in Gen. 49 25-26 and Hosea's terrible curses in 9 11, 12, 14, 16, and 10 1, 13 1. b) Compare Dt. 33 17 and 1 Kings 22 11. The passage in Kings, even though it may be much later than the eighth-century prophecy, reflects quite accurately the opposition of that prophecy to what it considered to be false prophecy. c) I would call especial attention to Nu. 23 21 b, according to which the claim is made that Jahweh is with Israel, contrasted with the exhortation in Amos 5 14, "Let Jahweh God of Hosts be with you *as ye have said*". The contradiction is not only in idea but in the words themselves. d) Finally compare Nu. 23 9 b

would then be precisely analogous to the development of the Law. This, too, as cult practice, originated in primitive times. The early prophets denounced it in the most uncompromising terms. Yet it managed to secure a good orthodox position within the canon later on.[187] Similarly, we may surmise, the eschatology which had been repudiated by the earlier prophets of the eighth century was gradually adopted by the prophets of later ages. As prophecy in spite of its great leaders made terms with the Law in Deuteronomy, so it made terms with eschatology in the post-exilic period. We need not predicate two distinct migrations of eschatology as Gressmann does, one very ancient and the other in post-exilic times. Rather, the ancient

with the prologue to Amos. In the Balaam oracle there is the most intense national self-consciousness and feeling of superiority to other nations; in Amos Israel is included in the common doom of the nations (Amos 1 and 2). In all these early poems nationalism is highly developed it is the stock in trade of the majority prophets from the time of Jonah the son of Amittai (2 K. 14 25) to the time of Jeremiah's opponents. But it is this very nationalism that is rebuked by eighth-century prophecy and later by Jeremiah. Accordingly, these poems are the last places to look for support in defending the eschatology of hope in eighth-century prophecy. On the contrary, the prophetic opposition to them shows how unlikely it would be for the prophets to share their hopes. If Sellin's view could be proved, that the royal psalms were early and had borrowed a still earlier eschatological style, the prophets would be found in the same opposition to them as to these other poems.

[187] This analogy was first suggested to me by Professor J. M. P. Smith in a personal conversation in which I was sketching out to him the general positions advanced above. In this connection the statement of Stade is important: "The reconciliation of the prophetic thoughts about religion with the popular thoughts and customs is completed in the exile" (*Biblische Theologie* I. p. 209). This statement applies to eschatology as well as to the cult. When Stade says that the catastrophe of the Exile led to the rejection of the prophecies of Jeremiah's opponents, so that nothing of this literature has come down to us (p. 216), he goes too far. The ideas of Jeremiah's opponents certainly persisted after a fashion and at least some of the still earlier literature which reflected the same doctrines may well have been preserved. Its antiquity would clothe it with sanctity. The Psalter is the great store-house of this popular eschatology in the post-exilic period. In the Psalter the tendencies of legalism majority prophecy and minority prophecy are found in the most interesting juxtaposition.

eschatology, suppressed for a time by the stern puritanism of the early prophets, gradually worked its way to the surface in their post-exilic successors[188] and became particularly influential in the revision of the ancient texts.[189] As has often happened in the history of religion, the popular, the superficial, the dogmatic, triumphed over the essential, the inward, the spiritual. The early prophets did not make concessions to popular hopes, but prophecy in its later developments did do this. Prophecy was many-sided, but the early prophets were one-sided. They drove their ethical premises to the limit. Therein they were not modern, and it is at *this* point that we must be on our guard against the temptation to modernize them. Their ethical abandon had, as Hölscher well brings out, a touch of the ancient nabi' in it, his intenseness, his ecstatic temperament.[190] That interpretation which emphasizes the ethical and spiritual in them rather than the supernaturalistic and apocalyptic is not an attempt to modernize them, but is a hard-won recognition of their real character. They were the great protesters. They protested against magic and sorcery, that is, against the superstition of a materialistic spiritism, against the popular morals of the time, against the popular cult, against the popular eschatology and most important of all, though it has been largely overlooked, *against the popular political nationalism which is implied in that eschatology.* In these respects their message still claims attention. In fact, none is more sorely needed at the present time. And among all who first proclaimed this message Isaiah is the chief.

188 Cf. also Sellin, p. 189.

189 This possibility Sellin pays no attention to on p. 189 or 191, where he rejects Gressmann's theory of two migrations.

190 *Die Profeten*, p. 204.

THE ORIGIN OF JEWISH ESCHATOLOGY

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ESCHATOLOGY is the doctrine concerning the last things (τὰ ἔσχατα, *novissima*, האחרית). It deals with man's condition after death, the destiny of nations, and the end of the world. The Oxford dictionary defines it as "the department of theological science concerned with 'the four last things': death, judgment, heaven and hell". This is obviously too narrow a definition. In so far as eschatology has to do with religious ideas it is, indeed, a part of theology. But even without religious stimulus man's mind projects itself into the future as well as into the past. His scientific study of nature and his philosophy are as likely as his religion to occupy themselves with things to come. In the field of religious eschatology there are more things than the four mentioned. Even in Jewish and Christian eschatological thought, a place should be given to such conceptions as the Messiah, the kingdom of heaven on earth, the intermediate state, the resurrection, the destruction of the world, the new heaven and the new earth. The sharp distinction between eschatology and messianism drawn by Hermann Cohen[1] cannot be maintained; and the last things on earth can surely not be left out. Other ideas are found in the eschatology of other religions. Hugo Gressmann[2] confines eschatology to the complex of ideas connected with the end of the world and the renovation of the world, excluding in principle all that concerns "death

[1] *Die Religion der Vernunft*, 1921. Cp. my observations on this important posthumous work in The Philosophical Review, Jan. 1922, pp. 68 ff.

[2] *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, 1905.

and resurrection, in short the final destiny of the individual" Such limitations do not seem justified either by etymology or. usage.

But attention had been too exclusively given to the fate of the individual. Even on the lower stages of religious development speculation upon things to come is not wholly limited to man's condition after death. The shifting fortunes of war and the varying success in obtaining supplies give rise to anxious or hopeful thoughts of what may befall the tribe. Devastating floods, fires, cyclones, earthquakes, or volcanic eruptions, and terror-inspiring eclipses of the heavenly bodies suggest the possibility of a destruction of the world. But the higher forms of eschatological thought presuppose a more complex social organization and a closer observation of natural phenomena. Hope of deliverance from foreign oppression is keenest where it springs from a proud and outraged national consciousness, kept alive by the memory of past greatness; and dreams of empire are born of the example set by mighty conquerors and rulers holding peoples in subjection. It is especially myths of astrological origin that furnish material for strongly developed eschatologies. Only prolonged observation of the movements of the planets and the sun's course through the signs of the zodiac can render possible the thought of a recurrence at the end of the present period of the events connected with the world's origin, and the renovation of the world after its destruction. Eschatology clearly develops with the growth of man's intellectual and moral perceptions, his larger social experience, and his expanding knowledge of nature. While there is a general similarity, the outward forms vary with the character of the environment and the peculiar genius of each people. Ideas, like commodities and fashions, pass from land to land, but if the native soil can produce them a foreign origin must not too hastily be assumed.

These general considerations should be borne in mind in approaching the subject of Jewish eschatology. No one questions that our extant literature reveals a marked difference between earlier and later ideas in respect of man's condition after death, Israel's destiny, and the future of the world. The

great prophets of the Assyrian and Chaldaean periods stand forth in striking contrast with their predecessors and their successors in the Persian and the Graeco-Roman periods. Their tremendous emphasis upon the ethical demands of Yahwe and their opposition to chauvinism and entangling foreign alliances have set them apart and given them an epoch-making significance. It is not strange, therefore, that modern interpreters have been inclined to look upon them chiefly as moral teachers and to overlook the fact that they also were soothsayers and politicians. Their eyes were always turned toward the future, endeavoring to discern what Yahwe was about to do in the earth, and watching with anxiety the fulfilment of their prognostications of coming events. They took part in the raging political party strife of their day, if not with violent acts, as some who had gone before them, at least with fierce denunciations and strong intimidations. But they were powerful personalities, straightforward, fearless, and consistent. This has led many investigators of the books ascribed to them to regard as interpolations and additions sections that appeared to be out of harmony with their distinctive style, their characteristic cast of thought, and the historic situation that confronted them, and especially to athetize passages containing eschatological ideas foreign to the general tone and tenor of their oracles and known to have flourished in much later times. These passages have to do, not with the future of the individual, for on this point even the supposed interpolators, with one single exception (Isa. 26 19), still maintained the older view, but with the future of Israel and of the world.

Against this critical treatment a reaction has recently set in, led by Gunkel, Eichhorn, Gressmann, Bousset, and to some extent Bertholet, Kittel and others. Having discovered in the Hebrew Bible numerous unmistakable allusions to myths apparently of Babylonian origin, in addition to those already recognized as such, Hermann Gunkel[3] began to question the current explanation of certain peculiar expressions as merely figures of speech and to reject the *zeitgeschichtliche Methode*,

[3] *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 1895.

as Auberlen[4] had called it, that sees in many of them cryptic references to historic personalities. Suggestions in this direction were also made in academic lectures by that brilliant teacher, Albert Eichhorn. The same tendency was followed by Wilhelm Bousset,[5] though somewhat more guardedly and with stronger emphasis on possible Persian influence. Besides extending this manner of approach to many of the major problems of Old Testament exegesis, Hugo Gressmann[6] finally formulated a new theory and presented it in a work characterized by great learning, much ingenuity, and often rare insight. Briefly outlined, the theory is this. Long before the time of Amos many myths of foreign origin had found their way into Israel and Judah and attached themselves to the thought of Yahwe and his dealings with his people, the other nations, and the world. Most important among these was the conception of a coming destruction of the world by fire, preceded by an accumulation of plagues, and followed by a renewal of the world and the return of the terrestrial paradise, with its innocence and blessedness, ruled over by a semi-divine being, the first man. This idea probably originated in Persia, came through Elam (possibly as early as 2000 B. C.) to Babylonia, and then traveled with the Amorites to Palestine, where it had already been saturated with the Jewish spirit in the eighth century B. C. The great prophets applied the myth of the cosmic catastrophe locally, but because of their moral earnestness suppressed the supplementary myth of the cosmic restoration, except that in some passages they made concessions to the popular eschatology. The allusions in these passages cannot be understood unless one bears in mind the original myth. In the Graeco-Roman period this ancient mythical material was again utilized by the apocalyptic seers, and fresh accessions from abroad made it possible for them to rear a more elaborate structure.

A few typical illustrations must suffice to show the method of interpretation and the somewhat startling results. In Amos 5 18 the prophet declares: "Ah! ye who wish for the day of Yahwe!

[4] *Der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1854.

[5] *Die Religion des Judentums*, 1903, 1906 [2]; *Die jüdische Apokalyptik*, 1903.

[6] *l. c.*

Wherefore would ye have the day of Yahwe? It will be darkness, and not light". Zephaniah says (1 18): "their silver and their gold cannot save them on the day of Yahwe's wrath, when all the land will be consumed by the fire of his anger; for he shall make a terrible end of all that dwell in the land". The conclusion is drawn that "the day of Yahwe" was a technical term popularly understood to mean both the end of the world through fire and its restoration, bringing in the golden age, but that the people generally expected to escape from the conflagration and share in the good time to come, while the prophets were unwilling to hold out any such hope. The thought of this day of Yahwe is supposed to be of foreign origin. So also the idea of a "Remnant", which did not originate with Isaiah. The enemy from the north in Jeremiah and Zephaniah is not a definite people expected to come upon Judah from that direction, neither the Scythian nor the Chaldaean, but a mysterious being connected with the mountain of the gods in the north. "So gut der Nordberg gleich dem Götterberge ist, so gut ist der Nördliche ein göttliches Wesen" (p. 190): and so is also the king of the north in Dan. 11 40 ff., whom Porphyrius and others have identified with Antiochus IV Epiphanes. It is thought that an Israelitish origin for this divine being is excluded, "since it has for its foundation polytheism".

The child called Immanuel in Is. 7 grows up in a land where the people live on milk and honey. These are imported products. Palestine was not a land literally flowing with milk and honey. They are "Götterspeise" and belong to the land of the gods. Immanuel is a mythical figure. The divine mother was probably originally Ishtar, not Damkina or Hathor. The hero expected by Isaiah (9 1-6) is a human king and a god, a kind of "Halbgott". The mythical epithets point to Egypt where they are common in the royal protocols (p. 282). The court style used in reference to the reigning prince as well as the eschatological king could not have been invented in a small kingdom, but must have come from a world-power. In some of the Servant of Yahwe Songs, found in the appendix to the book of Isaiah, we have remains of a cult-song, referring originally to the death and resurrection of a god, probably

Hadad-Rimmon or Tammuz-Adonis. In some passages these reminiscences from a pagan cult are applied to the people of Israel. Like the mother of the Messiah, the Messiah himself is of foreign origin. The figure of a divine king could only be based on the apotheosis of kings, not found in Israel, but among its neighbours. "One like a man" (כבר אנש) in Dan. 7 13 is not Michael, the guardian angel of the people to whom the kingdom is to be given, as I endeavoured to show in a paper read before this Society,[7] but the highest angel, a semi-divine being, known as "the man", an abbreviation of "the first man", the king of paradise, originally a foreign god, possibly the Persian Gayōmarṯ (Bousset), but more likely some divinity surviving as an aeon in Gnostic speculation. This non-Jewish figure traveled to Palestine for the first time long before the days of Amos and Hosea, and a second time shortly before the Christian era.

Criticism in detail is not possible within the limits of this paper. A few suggestions, however, may be offered. There is no room for doubt that myths of Sumerian, Akkadian, Arrapachitian, Amoritish, Aramaean, Canaanitish, Hittite, Egyptian, Cretan, and Assyrian origin found their way into Palestine and may have become known in Israel and Judah. This must certainly be the case with the stories concerning the creation of the world and primeval times. Nor can it be questioned that the rich development of eschatology in the Hasmonaean and Roman periods was influenced by Persian and Greek speculation. But the assumption of a foreign origin whenever a peculiar looking conception presents itself may easily become an obsession. Real evidence of advanced eschatological thought outside of Israel in the early times contemplated by the theory does not yet exist, or is at least extremely rare. Gunkel[8] rightly observes: "Aus der Beobachtung der Präcession der Sonne erklärt sich . . . die Gleichung von Urzeit und Endzeit, die in der Eschatologie eine solche Rolle spielt". It is quite uncertain, however, how early observers in Babylonia were able

[7] JBL, XIX, 1900, pp. 22 ff.

[8] *Genesis*,[2] p. 234.

to compute, even roughly, the precession of the equinoxes and consequently the cosmic year. Eduard Meyer[9] ascribes the division of the equator and the ecliptic into 360 degrees, and of the latter into the twelve signs of the zodiac, to the Chaldaeans in the first millennium B. C. and the more important progress in astronomy as well as astrology among them to the time of the Chaldaean Kingdom and the Achaemenian and Seleucid dynasties. According to Seneca,[10] Berosus maintained that "the world will burn when all the planets that now move in different courses come together in the Crab, so that they all stand in a straight line in the same sign, and the future flood will take place when the same conjunction occurs in Capricorn". How much older this conception is than the third century B. C. we cannot tell. If the idea of the cosmic catastrophe and the restoration of the world came from Persia, we have absolutely no datable documents to show when it first appeared there. Nor is there any evidence of its presence in Elamitic inscriptions or any indication of what could be identified as Persian influence in Elam in the remote period suggested.

The prophetic texts thus far discovered in Egypt do not show any idea of the destruction of the world through fire or reconstruction after such a catastrophe. They are important, however, because they clearly reveal the tendency of putting on the lips of ancient seers prophecies of historic events known to the real authors and of interpolating earlier texts, and also because the descriptions of present misery and future prosperity, in spite of the "Lust am Fabulieren" so characteristic of the Egyptians, keep within such modest bounds. A priest in the time of Snefru is credited with having predicted the coming of Ameni, probably Amenemhat I, and his successful reign, in a Petrograd papyrus and a wooden tablet at Cairo from the eighteenth dynasty. A demotic papyrus from the year 7 A. D. tells of the prophecies of calamity and Assyrian conquests uttered by a lamb in the 6th year of Bocchoris (c. 730 B. C.). The fragment of a Greek papyrus from the third century

[9] *Geschichte des Altertums*, I[3], 1913, pp. 591 ff.
[10] *Quaestiones naturales*, III, 29.

A. D. apparently contains a translation of a defense made before a king Amenophis by a potter accused of godlessness, who turns prophet, predicts disasters for Egypt, and then suddenly dies. Unless the whole production is very late, there is an interpolation threatening "the city on the sea"—as the reference to Agathos Daemon shows, clearly Alexandria—with so complete a destruction that fishermen will dry their nets where it once stood. It goes on to foretell the coming of a king from the east, set up by Isis, in whose reign there will be such blessedness that those who survive into that period will wish the dead to rise in order to share their joy. The time is obviously approaching when the movable year will coincide with the fixed year, the end of a Sothis-period in 139 A. D. One is tempted to think of a Jewish hand retouching an older text in the reign of Hadrian, or that of a native Egyptian having some familiarity with Jewish ideas and phraseology. "The Admonitions of Ipuwer", in a Leiden papyrus, though supposed by Lange, Breasted, and Eduard Meyer to contain "messianic" elements, do not seem to refer to the future at all, as Gardiner and Gressmann[11] have recognized. It is indeed astonishing that so few analogies to Jewish eschatological ideas have yet been found. It may be confidently expected that more will be discovered in course of time, giving a firmer foundation for theories of foreign influence, even where they seem today quite plausible.

There is no logical necessity for supposing that the notion of a destruction of the world through fire and a new creation, admittedly based on very advanced astronomical knowledge, must have preceded the simpler thought of local catastrophes. The more clearly it is perceived that Yahwe was regarded as manifesting himself in the earthquake, the cyclone, the volcanic eruption, the shirokko, the fire from heaven, and the pestilence, the more natural it is to assume that such plagues were expected as punishments for sin, whether alone or in groups, long before they were looked upon as signs of an impending cosmic conflagration. Similarly, the blessings of

[11] *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, 1909, p. 210.

Yahwe, abundant harvests, plenty of flocks and herds, security against wild beasts, victories in war, rich booty, health, longevity and numerous progeny, would be expected as gracious rewards long before they were thought of in connection with a restoration of the world after a cosmic conflagration and a return of the terrestrial paradise. The day of Yahwe looked for by the contemporaries of Amos may very well have been a day of victory and consequent prosperity, and the day of wrath, that fearful day, with which an Amos and a Zephaniah threatened the people, need be no more than a day of terrible defeat at the hands of foreign foes. If Yahwe afflicts them, not only with war, but with all its hellish train, and hurls at them the plagues that are his ancient agencies, this does not necessarily imply that he destroys the whole universe. There is no hint before Isaiah, either in Judah or among the other nations, of a mythical Remnant. His expectation that only few Judaeans would survive the devastating judgment to turn to Yahwe, as those who perished failed to do, does not necessarily suggest an already extant eschatological conception, nor a return from exile, nor the salvation of the elect.

It is perfectly natural that Jeremiah should have interpreted his vision of the seething caldron as indicating the coming of an enemy from the north, that he should have been ignorant of the name of the Scythians approaching from that direction, of their alliance with Assyria, and of their purpose to attack Egypt rather than the Assyrian vassal-state, Judah, and that he should have been convinced that Yahwe was watching over the oracle he had given to fulfil it, and therefore applied it later to the Chaldaeans. Nowhere, except in the thought of Jeremiah and Zephaniah, is there an indication of any such northern enemy. The court-style, which has been so illuminatingly described by Gressmann, may indeed have been in part borrowed. But the modesty of small courts can scarcely be urged against Jewish originality. Isaiah may certainly have expected that a young woman looking forward to motherhood would call a son Immanuel, with the easy confidence which the overthrow of Damascus and Samaria would inspire, and that an Assyrian invasion would soon work such havoc in Judah

that a limited amount of milk and honey would suffice for the few survivors in a land reduced to a desert. Of a mother-goddess there is not the slightest suggestion; and though Palestine may not literally be flowing with milk and honey, this diet would not have to be imported from the land of the gods. A shoot springing up from the root of Jesse obviously presupposes the fall of the Davidic dynasty and the birth of a scion of the old royal family on which the legitimatist hope centered. Whether a "Götterkind" or not, it is not necessary to think that the dominion would rest on his shoulders before he had grown up. That the singer of the Servant of Yahwe, even in some passages, drew upon a cult-song, celebrating the death and resurrection of a foreign deity, seems an unnecessary hypothesis, however ingenious it may be. Semites love to represent nations as individuals; and the death and quickening to new life of a nation is a figure of speech that does not necessarily imply complete extinction and an absolutely new creation. If the resurrection had not been barred out from the eschatological scheme, one would not have been startled to find the bones in Ezekiel's valley interpreted as the *disjecta membra* of a god, possibly Osiris.

Seeing that the everlasting kingdom is to be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, or the exalted saints (קדישי עליונין), the angelic nation, (and Gressmann himself admits that the one like a man in Dan. 7 13, as everywhere else in the book, is an angel), there appears to be no good reason why we should not regard Michael, the guardian angel of his people, as the highest of the angels. That he fights with the guardian angels and former gods of the world-powers does not militate against but rather strengthens this conclusion. He may indeed have been a god originally, as Gressmann thinks, and I suggested long ago. He was in course of time merged with the Messiah. No evidence has been brought forward to prove Gressmann's assertion that the Messiah was once a foreign god (p. 282). The hope of an Anointed One, either a righteous and victorious king who shall be a genuine descendant of David, as in the Psalms of Solomon, or a high-priestly ruler "of Aaron and Israel", as in the Zadokite

documents, is altogether explicable as a native growth. Neither in Daniel, nor in the Parables of Enoch, nor in Baruch, nor in IV Ezra can the original בר נשא "the man" have been a *title* of either the angel or the Messiah. No arguments urged from any side—and they have all been carefully considered—have changed my conviction as to the essential soundness of the position laid down for the first time in a paper presented to this Society twenty-seven years ago[12] both as to the employment of the term בר נשא in the original Aramaic texts of these apocalypses and as to its use by Jesus. Especially Grotius, Lagarde, Arnold Meyer and Eerdmans had paved the way. The same conclusions were reached independently, though published later, by Lietzmann; and they subsequently met with the approval of Wellhausen. In various publications[13] I have continued the discussion, dealing with such objections as have been made. It has more recently been suggested that Jesus may have used the term בן אדם; this seems to be precluded by the definite article before the genitive in the Greek which evidently seeks to render very literally the Aramaic phrase, just as the Aramaic versions by their ברה דאנשא, ברה דגברא, and ברה דבר נשא seek to render word for word the Greek. Dalman[14] recognizes that בר נשא was used by Jesus, and that it was not a messianic title. He thinks that אנש rather than בר אנש, was used in Galilean Aramaic in the first century A. D. It is not impossible that one was used more frequently than the other, though in the absence of texts from that century it cannot be proved. His strange conjecture that, when it actually was employed at that time, as by Jesus, it was not understood, and not intended to be understood, in the sense it always has wherever it occurs in any of the Aramaic dialects certainly lacks all plausibility. In regard to the later apocalypses there is still too much confidence in the integrity and accuracy of late versions, themselves sometimes made from translations. This is not to be wondered at, when even in the interpretation of the prophetic books the simple duty is

[12] Published in JBL, XV, 1896, pp. 36 ff.

[13] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 1903; *The Prophet of Nazareth*, 1905, etc.

[14] *Die Worte Jesu*, 1898.

neglected of comparing long-suspected passages with those that are all but universally recognized as genuine. It is too late to question that much mythical material of foreign origin was taken into the thought of Israel and adopted by its own religious genius, and there is no disposition to undervalue the real services rendered by scholars like Gunkel and Gressmann in detecting such alien elements. But some considerations are often overlooked. Before the prophets, and in spite of them, polytheism flourished in Israel; and there were native myths as well as foreign. Myths are what men say about the gods. What are the stories told about Yahwe himself but myths? Concerning the so-called "schools of the prophets" we know next to nothing. If the stories of Elijah and Elisha come from these "sons of the prophets", they reveal little that can be traced to a foreign origin, but have many mythical as well as legendary features. On the other hand, there is a tendency to underestimate the creative power and originality of the great prophets and of those who struggled with the problems of thought under the mighty ethical impulse they had given. In respect of man's condition after death the adoption of the Persian doctrine of a resurrection seems to have been prepared, not only by the belief that Yahwe had taken certain heroes directly up to heaven and brought others back from Sheol by empowering his prophets to raise them from the dead, but also by peculiar moral considerations. While Job himself resolutely brushes aside "the hope of man", he touches with infinite pathos upon the longing of the creator for the work of his hands that might lead him to call this creature back from Sheol into life. In the struggle for monotheism the simple explanation, in the appendix to Isaiah, that the other gods were simply stocks and stones did not satisfy. They were thought of as living beings reduced from their divine rank to be angels, among whom Yahwe must reign and rebellion be quelled. Thus justice was extended to the invisible world, and the way was paved for heaven and hell. In annotations to the prophecies against foreign nations, the idea of a return from exile was applied to some of them, and places of honor were given even to enemy nations by the side of Israel. When

the notion of a cosmic conflagration and a following restoration, an אחרית corresponding to the ראשית, appears in tangible form, the dominant note is the hope of a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. This ethical motivation is of the greatest importance.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE SYNAGOGUE TOWARDS THE APOCALYPTIC-ESCHATOLOGICAL WRITINGS

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THE attractiveness of the novel is responsible not only for the lively interest in the Apocalyptic-eschatological literature noticeable among all students of the origins of Christianity, but also for the exaggerated claims advanced by some scholars for these literary productions of a handful of Jewish visionaries. Many an apocalypse has been discovered or made accessible only in recent times and scholars are human enough to be dazzled by sudden light. A picture drawn by artificial light will never be true to nature, great as the skill of the artist may be, and hence the failure of some really great scholars to give us a true picture of the religious life of Israel at the time of the rise of Christianity. A history of Judaism based on the Pseudepigrapha and particularly the visions of the apocalypses could but be a visionary pseudo-history. It would, however, be impossible within the compass of anything less than a substantial volume to present an adequate criticism of the view which sees in the so-called popular literature of the Jews the true mirror of the religion of the Jewish people. In the following few remarks I intend to give some facts about the attitude of the Synagogue towards the apocalyptic writings which I hope may throw some light on the very intricate problems connected with the eschatological doctrines and beliefs of the Jews at the time of the Apostles and Apostolic Fathers.

It is a well-known fact that none of the apocalyptic books with the exception of Daniel was received by the Synagogue.[1] The preservation of this literature is exclusively due to the efforts of the early Church. With equal certainty one may state that there is not one quotation from the now extant apocalyptic writings in the vast Rabbinic literature extending over the first six centuries of the common era. One might cite numerous parallels to the statements, legends or phrases of the apocalyptic authors from the Rabbinic writings, but these parallels are never of a nature that would indicate a literary dependence of the one kind of literature upon the other. This is best proved by the fact that the Rabbis never mention by name any apocalyptic writing. It is true Dr. Kohler (J. Q. R. V., pp. 400—401) finds in an ancient Tannaitic tradition a direct reference to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Not having however the vision of an apocalyptic writer I fail to detect in the passages indicated by Dr. Kohler the slightest reference to the Testaments. The assertion of Dr. Kohler is based on an arbitrarily construed text and on the impossible translation thereof. He quotes from the Talmud the text dealing with the nature of the admonition addressed by the court to the woman suspected of adultery the text as given by Dr. Kohler reads:

דברי הגדה מעשים שאירעו בכתובים הראשונים
גון מעשה ראובן בבלהה ומעשה יהודה בתמר אשר חכמים יגידו
אלו ראובן ויהודה

The translation of this text by Dr. Kohler is: Words of the Haggadah, historical facts which occur in the early writings as the story of Reuben regarding Bilhah and of Judah regarding Tamar, as it says in Job XV. 18 "The wise ones confess and conceal it not; these are Reuben and Judah." The early writings according to Dr. Kohler, are the Testaments where the confessions of Reuben and Judah are found. We thus learn from this tradition of the Tannaim the very interesting fact that one of the apocalypses at least, for some time, enjoyed almost canonical dignity among the Rabbis. Before giving the true text

[1] The apocalyptic literature of the Gaonic period is neither in form nor in matter a direct development of the pre-Talmudic Apocalypse,

as found in the Rabbinic sources I want to call attention to the very strange translation[2] by Dr. Kohler of the imaginary one. Misled by the English expression "occur in a book" he renders שאירעו בכתובים by "which occur in the writings". But ארע ב׳ has never any other meaning than "it happened to"—generally something evil or unpleasant[3]—and accordingly our text would speak of something that happened to the ancient writings!

Dr. Kohler, though giving three sources for the text quoted did not state that in none of them "his" text is found.[4] Sifre, Numbers 12 has not the sentence from מעשה to בתמר; after כגון follows the quotation from Job;[5] in Babli, Sotah 7b where this sentence is found it follows after the quotation from Job, while in Yerushalmi, Sotah I, 16b the text begins with כגון as a comment upon the words of the Mishna I, 4 and hence may entirely be ignored in the discussion of the meaning of כתובים הראש׳ found in the two other sources. The text as given in Sifre and Babli admits two explanations. דברי הגדה ומעשים may be taken as ἓν διὰ δυοῖν, the Haggadah concerning the events that happened and כתובים הראשונים stands for Job which, according to the Rabbis, is the third[6] in the order of the eleven Hagiographa. The passage is consequently to be rendered: "The

2 Dr. Charles, who, in the introduction to his translations of the Testaments, quotes Dr. Kohler's view with approval very likely did not take the trouble to look up the passages quoted by him.

3 The "happenings" consequently refer to the sins and not the confessions; why then quote the Testaments and not Genesis?

4 The text given by Dr. Kohler is that emended by Guedemann, *Zunz — Jubelschrift*, 116, in accordance with his view that Haggadah means "story". Bacher, *Tannaiten*, II. 451, has disposed of the "story" and also of the emendation.

5 In Sifre מעשים without ו, which is probably due to some "learned" copyist who omitted this letter on account of his inability to explain the construction of the sentence. The reading with ו as given in the editions of Babli is found also in Rashi, *ad loc.*, Yalkut, I, 707, on Num. 5 15 (in the first edition: בכתובות comp. note 10), Ibn Masnut in his commentary on Job 15 18 and in the Munich Ms. of the Talmud.

6 According to the Massorah the three first Hagiographa are "Psalms, Proverbs and Job", while the Tannaitic tradition in Baba Batra, 14b, gives the order as, "Ruth, Psalms and Job". Comp. also Berakot, 57b, beginning, "The three big Hagiographa—Psalms, Proverbs and Job".

Haggadah found in the first Hagiographa concerning the events that happened, for example: which wise men have told etc." The verse of Job is quite correctly described as a Haggadah on the narratives of Genesis about the sins of Reuben and Judah. The other explanation presupposes that the text of the Talmud though fuller than that of the Sifre is not quite complete, the words ומעשה דוד בבת שבע being omitted out of respect for the pious king. If this assumption be correct כתובים הראשו׳ stand for the Pentateuch,[7] where the sins of Reuben and Judah are told and the Book of Samuel, where the story of David's sin is given. The woman is thus admonished to confession by the court who put before her in an elaborate way, or, as the Rabbis say, in Haggadic style, the events narrated in the earlier parts of Scripture, i. e. Genesis and Samuel.[8] The second explanation has much in its favour, especially as it does away with a very great difficulty. The incident of David with Bath-Sheba and the confession of his sin by the pious king is certainly the most natural thing that we would expect the court to dwell upon in addressing the woman suspected of adultery. The omission of the reference to David in our texts can easily be explained, as according to the regulations laid down in Mishnah, Megillah, end, the "story of David" is not to be read in the Synagogue and still less to be translated by the Meturgeman, while the "story of Reuben" may be read, though not translated, the "story of Judah" only is permitted to be read and translated.[9]

Attention should also be called to the fact that the text of Yerushalmi as given in Midrash Haggadol, Num. 5, 19 (in

[7] Rashi, *ad loc.*, understands בכתובים הר׳ to refer to the Pentateuch which however is very unlikely, as we certainly would expect בתורה, the usual term for this part of the Bible. Of course Rashi does not commit the error of making בכתובים dependent on שארעו but takes it to stand for שבכתובים which is quite possible.

[8] The order of the Prophets is, "Joshua, Judges, Samuel" (Baba Batra 14b) and it is quite natural to describe the first and fourth books of the Bible as the first writings.

[9] This is in accordance with the readings of the editions. See, however, *Variae Lectiones*, Megillah, 25 a, note 60. It is very likely that, according to the Mishnah, the paraphrase by the Meturgeman only was prohibited, while later this prohibition was extended to the reading too.

manuscript) has ומעשה אמנון באחותו after יהודה בתמר. This reading[10] can hardly be justified, as Amnon does not belong to the repentant sinners and it can be explained only by the assumption that the original reading was: מעשה ראובן ... בתמר ומעשה דוד בבת שבע as in Mishnah Megillah, end. When the reference to David was omitted the one concerning Amnon was substituted to make our Baraita agree as far as possible with the phraseology of the Mishnah. It may be mentioned in passing that the confessions of Reuben and Judah are a very favorite subject with the Tannaim and Amoraim, comp. e. g. Pesikta Buber XXV, 159a–159b, Sifre Deut. 348, Midrash Tannaim 214.

On כתובים as name for Pentateuch and Prophets comp. Blau, *Zur Einleitung*, p. 28sq. His explanation of the later use of the term כתובים = Hagiographa as an abbreviation of שאר כתובים is supported by the very same development of the use of ספרי "Sifre" from שאר ספרי דבי רב; comp. RSBM on Baba Batra 124b.[11]

The only quotation from an apocalypse in the Talmud[12] is found Sanhedrin 97b and reads: "Four thousand two hundred and ninety years after "creation" the world will become orphaned;[13] the wars of the dragons (תנינים, a mythological-eschatological word!) will then take place as well as the wars of Gog and Magog and after these events the days of the Messiah, but the renewal[14] of the world by God will take place after

10 Comp. Schechter in the introduction to his *Sectaries*, I, 27, note 65. The emendation לאבות הראשונים suggested by him is not acceptable. It is true אבות is sometimes applied to prominent men of biblical times (comp. Ginzberg, "*Eine Unbekannte Jüdische Sekte*", 295, note 2), but Amnon is certainly more of an infamous person than a famous one. In Yalkut ed. princeps בכתובות (comp. note 5) is a corruption of בכתובים, not of לאבות.

11 The objections raised by Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung*, 40, note 1, against this explanation of R. S. B. M. are not very strong, but it would lead me too far to discuss them here.

12 Prof. Israel Levi, R. E. J. I, 108 seq. has collected a number of apocalyptic passages—but not all of them—found in the Talmud. His view, however, that they prove the composition of apocalyptic writings by the Amoraim is far from convincing.

13 I. e. there will be no pious and good men left; comp. Mekilta, Bo 16, 18b, and parallel passages given by Friedmann.

14 חדש admits two meanings, "to renew" and "to create anew", comp. Ps. 51 12 where חדש is = ברא.

seven thousand years". This passage is quoted in the Talmud from a Scroll "written in Assyrian script (= square) and in Hebrew language" which a Jewish soldier is said to have found about 300 C. E. in the archives of Rome.

The description of this apocalyptic Scroll as having been "written in Assyrian script and in Hebrew language" is very interesting. What is meant by this characterization of the apocalyptic writing is that it had the make-up of a Biblical book. Scripture defiles the hands only when written in Hebrew language and in Assyrian script (Yadaim IV, 5), and similarly the scroll of Esther used for public reading on the feast of Purim had to be written in the same way, comp. Megillah I, 8; II, 1. The claim made accordingly for the apocalyptic scroll was that it was, if not of a canonical, at least of semi-canonical character, written for the purpose of public reading and study. The question whether this claim was justified does not need to detain us since we know nothing about its merits. It is, however, very significant that as late as the fourth century such a claim could be raised for a non-canonical book.

This leads us to the very crucial question: did the Synagogue at some time or another, at the joint conference of the schools of Shammai and Hillel about 66 C. E., or later in Jabne about 120,[15] take steps to prohibit the reading of the Pseudepigrapha and particularly the Apocalypses. This is not the place to discuss the difficult problems connected with the history of the Canon, but it is evident that we shall never understand the attitude of the Synagogue towards these "outside writings" as long as we do not know what the Tannaim have to say on this subject. The very learned and stimulating essay by Professor George F. Moore "The Definition of the Jewish Canon and the Repudiation of Christian Scriptures"[16] represents the last word of Biblical scholarship on the final delineation of the Canon. I regret however that I cannot accept the conclusion which this distinguished scholar has reached.

The result of the thorough examination by Prof. Moore of

[15] Comp. Graetz, *Kohelet* 166 seq.

[16] Published in "*Essays in Modern Theology and Related Subjects*", N. Y., 1911.

the Tannaitic sources bearing upon this question may be briefly summed up as follows: The ספרים החיצונים the reading of which is strongly condemned[17] by Rabbi Akiba, Sanhedrin X, 1 refer to the heretical, in particular to the early Christian writings. The ספרי המירס spoken of by Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai, Yaddaim IV, 6 in connection with the defilement of the hands and the reading of which books is permitted in Yerushalmi, Sanhedrin X, 28a owe their existence to a scribal error; המירס is nothing but a corruption of המינים. Consequently the text of Yerushalmi is to be emended to read as follows: הקורא בספרים החיצונים כגון ספרי בן לענה וספרי המינים אבל ספר(י) בן סירא וגו׳. The translation of this passage as given by Prof. Moore reads: "He who reads in the arch-heretical books, such as the books of Ben-Laana (Gospels)[18] and the books of the heretics (Christians).

[17] The words of R. Akiba are "Also he who reads in the outside books has no share in the world to come". It may not be out of place to remark that the rabbis were often in the habit of using emphatic language. That the losing of the share in the world to come is not always to be taken literally can easily be seen from the remark, Abot R. Nathan, XXXVI, 108, about the seven professions—very honorable ones—whose members are declared to forfeit their share in the world to come; comp. also, *ibid.* XXVII.

[18] The reading Laana is very doubtful. The only MS. of this part of the Yerushalmi has לענא (comp. Ginzberg, *Yerushalmi Fragments*, 262) and this is very likely the correct reading, as Kohelet R. XII, 12, in a passage undoubtedly dependent on Yerushalmi has תנלא and this is much nearer to לענא than to לענה of the editions. The identification of Laana with Jesus by Prof. Moore is neither better nor worse than the half dozen other identifications of this name recorded by me in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. Ben Laana. When, however, Prof. Moore, in support of his identification, points to another nickname for Jesus found in the Mishnah I must say with the Rabbis of old: "An error once entered remains." A Babylonian Amora in the second half of the third century, who very likely never in his life saw a Christian nor knew anything about Christianity had the ingenuity to find in בן סטדא—a sorcerer mentioned in the Tannaitic source, Tosefta Shabbat, XI, 15—a nickname for Jesus. The identification is not only without any sound basis, but hardly possible, as has been conclusively shown by Derenbourg, *Essai*, 460 seq. and especially Chajes in the Hebrew periodical, Ha—Goren, IV, 33—37. The hunt for nicknames, however, continues merrily and soberminded scholars speak seriously of Balaam, Doeg, Ahitophel, and Gehazi as being the nicknames which the Mishnah Sanhedrin, X, 1, uses for Jesus and three

But as for the books of Ben-Sira and all books that have been written since his time, he who reads in them is as one who reads in a letter". The inference which Prof. Moore draws from these premises is that the attempt authoritatively to define the Canon of the Hagiographa was dictated by the danger that threatened the Synagogue from the circulation among Jews of the Gospels and other Christian books.

Personally I am firmly convinced that there never was a time when the Synagogue had to carry on a fight against the canonicity of the Gospels,[19] but, as this is rather a matter which

of his disciples. If these scholars were consistent they ought to try to identify the three kings—Jeroboam, Ahab, and Manasseh—with three Christian emperors, since the four "private persons" mentioned and the "three kings" are said in the Mishnah to form one class of grave sinners. What a pity that there were no Christian emperors at the time of the Mishnah! Numerous legends concerning these seven sinners are given in both Talmuds in connection with the statement of the Mishnah concerning them, and these legends can by no stretch of imagination be made to apply to other persons than to those who bear these names in the Bible. They show not only how the Amoraim understood this statement of the Mishnah, but also how much the lives of these Biblical persons occupied the fancy of the Jewish people. One may therefore state with absolute certainty that the entire Talmudic-Midrashic literature does not know of any nicknames for Jesus or his disciples. I may add that גליונים = *εὐαγγέλιον* must not be taken as a mutilation or perversion, but is a very common form of apheresis, comp. the remark on page 128 about מירום = Homer. By the way, if Ben Laana is a nickname for Jesus why not take it as an equivalent for בן מרים, the son of Miriam? According to the Rabbis the name Miriam denotes "bitterness" (Seder Olam R., III, and the parallel passages given by Ratner), and לענה "wormwood" is used in Hebrew to describe something very bitter. Of course I do not consider this etymology seriously. Jesus is never named in old sources otherwise than יהושע, ישו, ישוע or Jesus the son of Pantera. Origen. *C. Cels.* I, 70 shows that Pantera (= פנתירא i. e. *πάνθηρ*) is a real name and not a nickname.

[19] The passage Tosefta Yadaim, III, 4, "The Gospels and the other heretical books do not defile the hands" has been frequently misunderstood. The defiling of the hands by a book being equal to our way of saying that such a book is canonical, this statement of the Tosefta was taken to mean that it needed a special ruling to declare these books as non-canonical. The truth of the matter, however, is, that the Halakah had to consider the possibility of the defilement by these books not or

can neither be proved nor disproved, I shall limit myself to an examination of the premises which led Prof. Moore to his conclusions. I fully agree with the view which finds in the Mishna Sanhedrin a statement by R. Akiba directed against Christians. The severe condemnation by Rabbi Akiba of the use of Exodus 15 26 in connection with medication is certainly directed against certain Christian healers,[20] as has been felt by many scholars, though they were unable to explain why just this Biblical verse was so opprobrious to the Rabbis. The answer to this question is very simple. The last three words of this verse אני יהוה רפאך have the same numerical value (three hundred eighty eight plus three for the three words = three hundred ninety one) as the name of Jesus (ישוע = three hundred ninety one). It is not unlikely that some crypto-Christians who were afraid to openly perform

account of their own merits but because of the numerous quotations from Scriptures they contain. This paragraph of the Tosefta is, as one easily sees, not a comment upon Mishnah Yad. IV, 6, where the defilement by Scripture is discussed between Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai and the Sadducees, but on Yad. III, 5, where the law is laid down that even a very small fragment of a canonical book defiles the hands. In view of this ruling the question had to be discussed what to do with those heretical writings containing copious quotations from Scriptures. The final decision was that even the most extensive quotations from Scripture lose their holy quality if embedded in an heretical writing or in a prayer book; prayers should not be written down, but recited by heart. The far fetched interpretation of גליונים in Tosefta as "margins" given in Shabbat 116a shows rather the acquaintance of the Babylonian Amoraim with the Gospels than their ignorance of the true meaning of גליונים = εὐαγγέλιον. They knew that there is no continuous quotation containing 85 letters from the Hebrew Bible in the Gospels, which number is the minimum of a fragment that might defile the hands. Accordingly the Amoraim found the statement concerning the Gospels, גליונים, given in Tosefta entirely superfluous, and solved the difficulty by explaining גליונים as margins. The Tosefta however either mentioned גליונים on account of the other heretical books with which the Gospels are ordinarily coupled together (and there very likely were heretical books that contained quotations from the Bible of more than 85 letters), or the Tosefta dates from a time when the minimum was less than 85 letters.

20 The magical averruncation mentioned in Tosefta Sanhedrin, XII, 10, and Abot R. Nathan, XXVI in connection with this mode of healing is said in Mark 7 33, 8 23, John 9 6, to have been employed by Jesus.

cures "in the name of Jesus" would use this verse in which they found his name indicated. Professor Moore, however, does injustice to the Rabbis when he maintains that they had no scruples about using verses of the Bible in connection with medication. The prohibition against "healing by the words of the Torah" is given in the Babylonian as well as in the Palestinian Talmud (comp. Shebuot 15b, Yerushalmi Shabbat VI, 8b), and the numerous magical formulas in the Talmudim, with one exception (Shabbat 67a, top), contain no Biblical verses. The very strong condemnation of the use of Exodus 15 26 cannot, however, be explained otherwise than on account of the favour this verse enjoyed among the Christian healers. But the coupling by R. Akiba of the prohibition against the outside books with that against the use of Exodus 15 26 as a charm does not indicate that both prohibitions are directed against Christians. Tosefta Sanhedrin XII, 10 and Aboth R. Nathan XXXVI, end, add another statement concerning the Canon by R. Akiba which by no stretch of imagination can be made to refer to some Christian heresy or practice. In these sources the man who sings the Song of Songs at festival gatherings—i. e. who treats this Biblical book as if it were of a secular character—is classed among those who have no share in the world to come. We know from many other places that Rabbi Akiba was the valiant champion of the canonicity of this Biblical book, but the opposition he had to combat he met among his own colleagues and friends.[21]

The meaning of חיצונים in the statement of Rabbi Akiba is the crucial point in the entire discussion. I shall therefore try to establish its true meaning. The word occurs nowhere else; Mishna Megillah IV,8 דרך החיצון is in the correct reading[22] while החיצונים of the editions is undoubtedly due to החיצונים in R. Akiba's famous statement. The meaning of דרך החיצון is

[21] Comp. Yadaim, III, 5.

[22] This is the reading of Ms. Munich, Aruk s. v. אונקלי, Meïri, and R. Nissim Gerondi (*Jerusalem*, 1884) ad loc. Aruk s. v. חצון, agree with the editions, but this is certainly a copyist's error, since the explanation of the phrase given in this passage does not admit any other reading than that given in the first passage.

easily established if one considers it in connection with the expressions כשורה and לפנים משורת הדין. A correct action is כשורה, literally "according to the line"—of the law, לפנים משורת הדין "within the line" describes a pious action which the strict law does not directly command and accordingly דרך החיצון is "outside the line"—the exact regulation of the law.[23] To say with Prof. Moore that the term חיצונים is synonymous with מינים, but evidently carries a stronger reprobation, would be far from the mark, even if the reading החיצונים were the correct one. The covering of the phylacteries with gold[24] or putting them on the sleeve instead of on the bare arm is characterized as דרך החיצונים. Now, while these practices are not quite correct they are not at all a serious break of the Law, as pointed out by R. Nissim Gerondi in his commentary on *Al-Fasi* ad loc. and consequently, though censured as incorrect, are never said to be heretical. On the other hand, the putting of the phylacteries not on the part of the body prescribed for this practice is declared to be an outright heresy. If therefore the reading החיצונים in Megillah were correct it would furnish the strongest proof against taking החיצונים in Sanhedrin in the sense of heretics. Prof. Moore quotes Talmud Megillah 24b to the effect that the persons described as החיצונים in the Mishna are such as are suspected to be inoculated with heresy. The Talmud, however, offers no comment whatever on this part of the Mishnah. The words quoted from the Talmud by Prof. Moore refer to something entirely different. The Mishna *ibid.* reads: "He who says 'I refuse to step before the Tebah (perform the public service in the Synagogue) in coloured garments' is not permitted to do it in white gowns". The comment of the Talmud on this Mishnah is: Because we suspect that he is inoculated with heresy. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Instructor* II, 11, 12, as well as III, 11 likewise mentions the custom of the early Christians to dress in white, and consequently the heresy spoken of by the Talmud in

[23] Comp. Aruk, s. v. חצון whose words are: לא עבד כדין וכשורה.

[24] This custom reminds one of the use of chrysography for the divine names in the Holy Scrolls by the Alexandrian Jews, which was likewise censured by the Rabbis. Comp. Shabbat, 103 b, Masseket Soferim, I, 10.

this connection refers to Christianity.[25] Professor Moore quotes further the reading מינות הוגה חיצונה from the Munich manuscript which he renders by "heresy and extraneous speculation". No such reading is found there, nor does הוגה "speculation" occur anywhere else in the Rabbinic literature. The copyist of the MS. made a mistake and wrote מינות which word he had before him in the first clause of the Mishnah, but noticing his error he corrected it to חיצונה. Rabbinovicz, the author of *Variae Lectiones*, thus remarks: written מינות but "corrected" הוּגָה to חיצונה. The photograph of this manuscript is before me and I find that this statement of Rabbinovicz is correct.

We may then state with certainty that there is no such word as חיצונים "heretics" in the entire Talmudic-Midrashic literature, and that judging by the use of the singular חיצון the plural חיצונים could not have been used in the sense supposed by Prof. Moore. But even granted the equation חיצונים=מינים, the expression ספרים החיצונים "heretical books" is hardly possible in Talmudic Hebrew. We have ספרי מינים "heretical books", ספרי קוסמים "magical books",[26] and consequently we would expect ספרי חיצונים the "books of the heretics" and not ספרים החיצונים as we have it in R. Akiba's Mishnah. It is true, the Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin 100b explains ספרים החיצונים by ספרי מינים "heretical books", but the Palestinian Talmud, Sanhedrin X, 28a, which is by far a safer guide in historical or linguistic matters than the Babli, quite explicitly states that Ben Sira is included among the ספרים החיצונים and thus clearly takes ס׳ החיצונים to mean books "outside of the Canon", though not of a heretical character. The attempt made by many scholars to reconstruct the text of Yerushalmi so as to agree with Babli is decidedly a vain effort. Before entering, however, upon the discussion of this point it is necessary to know what ס׳ המירס stand for in this passage of the Yerushalmi, as a good deal depends upon the correct understanding of this term.

Professor Moore gets rid of this inconvenient term by emending it to ס׳ מינים, but while there may be some doubt as to the

[25] Comp. also Goldfahn, Monatsschrift 1870, 174.

[26] Yerushalmi Maaserot, I, 51 a.

exact meaning of this obscure word,[27] no doubt is possible as to its genuineness. Midrash Tehillim, I, 9 in commenting upon Ps. 19 15 remarks: David prayed to God that men may not read his words as they read the books of מירום, but that they may read them and meditate[28] over them so that they receive reward for doing it as if they would study the most difficult parts of the Tora ואל יהו קורין בהם כקורין בספרי מירום אלא יהו קורין בהם והוגין בהם ונוטלין עליהן שכר כנגעים ואהלות[29] וגו׳. It is evident that מירום is the same as המירום in Yaddaim IV, 6 and in our passage of the Yerushalmi and that by it the Midrash understands books of a secular nature which one may read without doing damage to one's salvation though the reading is without spiritual benefit; one "reads them, but does not meditate or ponder over them". To make David pray that the Psalms may not be read by men "like heretical books" would be the height of absurdity. A careful reading of the Mishna Yaddaim leads to the same conclusion as to the meaning of ס׳ המירם. The books which according to Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai do not defile the hands "because they are not precious" can only be secular books but not heretical ones. The description of heretical books by the leader of the Pharisees as "not precious" would be as inept as such a characterization of the Thesis of Luther by the head of the *Index Expurgatorius*.

The earliest commentary on the Mishnah composed in the ninth or tenth century by one of the Babylonian Gaonim—perhaps Saadia[30]—takes המירם to be "Homer" and this is very likely the correct interpretation of this word. Of course, we

[27] There are numerous etymologies of this word; comp. Graetz, Monatsschrift, 1870, 139 seq., Perles R. E. J. III, 114, Weil, *ibid.* 278, Kohut, J. Q. R. III, 546, Kohler, *ibid.* V, 415, Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 355 b. Not one of these etymologies deserves serious consideration; on the traditional explanation of המירם = Homer see text.

[28] This passage shows conclusively that הגה is not "read" but "study" or "meditate", comp. note 40.

[29] These laws form a very difficult section of the Mishnah and hence are often used to describe the most important parts of the Halakah; comp. for instance Hagīgāh, 14 a.

[30] Comp. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, 172 seq. and Epstein, *Der Gaonäische Kommentar*, 29 seq.

must not think of a translation of Homer into Hebrew—the discussion about the "defiling of the hands" could only refer to Hebrew books—but the books of Homer[31] stand for "light literature", books one may read but which are "not precious". The apheresis of Greek loan words is quite common in Jewish writings and the forms מירום and מירון (accusative!) offer no difficulty.[32] That some of the copyists who undoubtedly never had heard of Homer wrote המירם is not in the least surprising, if one considers that λῃστής "thief" is regularly mispelled as ליסטים, though its meaning must have been known as it occurs hundreds of times in the Talmudic-Midrashic literature.

We shall now proceed to examine the text of the Yerushalmi. We have seen that המירם must not be amended and that by it secular literature is meant, the reading of which is permitted in contrast to that of the Book of Ben Sira which is said to belong to the prohibited books. The question is of course very puzzling how to harmonize this interdict by Rabbi Akiba[33] with the fact that, of all the Apocrypha, Ben Sira is the only one quoted by the rabbis. A great Talmudist at the end of the sixteenth century[34] suggested the following emendation of the Yerushalmi: (r.: ספר) בגון ספרי המירם וספרי בן לענה אבל ספרי בן סירא וכל ספרים שנכתבו מיכן והילך הקורא בהן כקורא באיגרת. Among modern scholars it was Graetz (*Kohelet* 166) who

[31] In the Ms. of the Yerushalmi reproduced by me in *Yerushalmi Fragments*, 36 b, this word is vocalized as הומֵירם Homeras, comp. note 27.

[32] In Hullin, 60 b, two manuscripts have מירום, Aruk מירון, מרון, המירום, and R. Samson of Sens, in his commentary on Yadaim, III, 5, מירם which is very likely a corruption of מירום. The reading of the Editions ספרי מינים is quite impossible as no one would ever have dared to say that there are verses in Scripture which seem fit to be burned like heretical books. The names and histories of certain nations who lived in pre-Mosaic times mentioned in Genesis—these are the verses spoken of as the Talmud explicitly states—might be said to be superfluous, but certainly not heretical and deserving to be burned. The original reading was ס' מירום [ה]"like story books" and as מירום was later understood by many to mean heretical, a pious copyist added the words ראוין לישרף, and still later מינים was substituted for מירום. Comp., however, Baba Batra 91 a.

[33] R. Akiba himself shows acquaintance with this book; comp. Graetz *Gnosticismus*, 119, and Bacher, *Tannaiten*[2] I, 269, note 2.

[34] R. Issachar Baer Eulenburg in his *Novellae on Sanhedrin*, 100 b.

independently proposed the same emendation which was later accepted by Perles (R. E. J. III, 116), Joel (*Blicke* I, 75) and Professor Moore. I do not think however that this emendation is acceptable. The statement of R. Joseph, Sanhedrin 100b, that one is prohibited to read the book of Ben Sira is certainly based upon a Tannaitic tradition which counted Ben Sira among the prohibited books. In other words this Babylonian Amora, celebrated for his great knowledge of Tannaitic traditions (comp. Berakot 64a, Horayyot, end) agrees with the view given in our text of the Yerushalmi and it would therefore be against all canons of criticism to emend it against such high authority for its genuineness. It is true the discussion between R. Joseph and his pupil Abbay shows that even the master was unable to explain the reason of the interdict against the reading of Ben Sira and driven into a lurch he had to admit: Were it not for the prohibition against Ben Sira by the Rabbis we would lecture on the book.[35] This, however, corroborates our view that Rabbi Joseph was acquainted with the Tannaitic tradition that counted Ben Sira among the ס׳ החיצונים and *nolens volens* he had to submit to the authority of the Tannaim. He could not, of course, explain this Palestinian view which is based upon a different interpretation of ס׳ חיצונים from that prevailing in the Babylonian academies. The Babylonians identified ס׳ חיצונים with ס׳ מינים "heretical books" and Ben Sira could not well be described as heretical, while the Palestinian authorities correctly explain the term used by Rabbi Akiba as referring to "outside books" i. e. Apocrypha, especially those among them which were very popular, like Ben Sira.

The above quoted remark of Rabbi Joseph with regard to the use of Ben Sira in public lectures shows at the same time what is meant by the reading of the "outside books". Not the reading of the Apocrypha was prohibited by Rabbi Akiba, but their use in the Synagogues and houses of study for public service or instruction. More than twenty years ago I wrote: "Akiba protested strongly against the canonicity of certain of the Apocrypha, Ecclesiasticus for instance (Sanhedrin X, 1,

[35] The corruption of the text in the Editions is obvious. Read with R. Meir Abulafia, *ad loc.*: אי לאו דגנוזה רבנן להאי סיפרא הוה דרש׳ וגו׳.

Babli *ibid.* 100b, Yerushalmi *ibid.* X, 28a) in which passages קורא is to be explained according to Kiddushin 49a and חיצונים according to its Aramaic equivalent[36] ברית so that Akiba's utterance reads: "He who reads aloud in the Synagogue from books not belonging to the Canon as if they were canonical" etc. I have little to add to it, except that by reading aloud in the Synagogue I meant public study too and not liturgical recitation only. The objection raised by Prof. Moore against this interpretation of R. Akiba's statement can be easily refuted; he writes: "The principle, however, seems to have been early established that even the acknowledged Hagiographa should not be read in the Synagogue". But the very sources[37] quoted by him (Mishna, Shabbat XVI, 1 and Tosefta XIII, 1) show clearly that it needed a special ruling of the Rabbis to prohibit the public reading of the Hagiographa on Sabbath afternoon.[38] Accordingly these sources assume that but for this ordinance the reading of the Hagiographa—i. e. public study—would have been quite the thing to be expected. The interpretation of the statement of R. Akiba as given in Yerushalmi is therefore not only from the philological point of view, but also from the historical one by far preferable to that of Babli. The identification of חיצונים with מינים is, as we have seen, hardly possible and an interdict against the private reading of heretical books by R. Akiba is not very likely. Of his colleague Elisha ben Abbuyah[39] it is told that he was a passionate reader of heretical books. Later when he became an apostate his unwholesome reading was made responsible for his apostasy, but there is not the slightest indication that he was censured for his reading. The Palestinian Midrashim, even those of comparatively late

[36] On ברייתא see my article in the Jewish Encyclopedia, *s. v.* where the origin of this term is explained differently from the traditional one. The Hebrew משנה חיצונה occurs only in late writings.

[37] Comp. also the passage quoted above, page 118, from Mishnah Megillah, end; the reading of the story of Amnon undoubtedly refers not to liturgical use of this section of the Bible but to its public study.

[38] Comp. Shabbat, 116b, where the view of Rab is given that the Mishnah refers exclusively to public reading.

[39] Hagigah; Elisha ben Abbuyah was a younger contemporary of R. Akibah.

origin, like the Tanhumas have still the old Palestinian tradition that the interdict against the ס' החיצונים is directed against the Apocrypha and not against "heretical books", comp. Tanhuma Buber IV, 59, Tanhuma Behaaloteka 15, Bamidbar R. XIV, 4 and Kohelet[40] R. XII, 12. The last Midrash influenced by Babli warns against taking into the house any other book than the Bible. Pesikta Rabba III, 9a is likewise partly dependent upon the Babli and hence distinguishes between the non-canonical and the ספרים החיצונים. One of the outstanding features of the later Midrashim is the harmonizing of the Palestinian with the Babylonian traditions.

By an *argumentum ex silentio* one might prove too much. We have seen that in the entire Rabbinic literature of the first six centuries of the Common Era there is not one quotation from the now extant apocalyptic literature, and an easy explanation is at hand. The Jewish schools at Jabneh and Tiberias whose literary activities resulted in the production of Talmud and Midrash deliberately ignored the writings of their opponents, the so-called apocalyptic Pharisees. But how about the many other apocryphal writings, not of an apocalyptic nature of which not the slightest trace is to be found in the Rabbinical literature? Did the Rabbis at Jabneh detect the hidden Sadduceeism of the First Book of the Maccabees and withdraw it from circulation? They were certainly not Sadducees who, two centuries later,

[40] The present text of the Midrash is corrupt as it contains a self contradictory statement. If the "taking into the house" of any other book than the Bible "brings confusion", it is absurd to say that non-Biblical books were given for "reading and not for serious study"; books that one is not to take into the house were certainly not given for reading. In Yerushalmi Sanhedrin, the source of Kohelet Rabba, the translation of להגיון by "for reading" would give a satisfactory sense, as nothing is said there about not taking into the house any non-canonical books. I have elsewhere conclusively shown (comp. *Eine unbekannte Jüdische Sekte*, 70, 71; see also above note 28) that הגה is always "intensive study" or "meditation". The manuscript of the Yerushalmi in my "Yerushalmi Fragments", 262, has the correct reading להגיון נתנו ליגיעת וגו'. The Haggadic interpretation of Eccles. 12 12 takes this verse to refer to Scripture which alone is said to have been given for meditation and serious study—with the exclusion of all other writings which are not a subject for study. Targum paraphrases this verse in a very similar manner—on להג comp. Erubin, 21 b.

showed the Hebrew text of this apocryphal book to Origen and Jerome. It may be profitable to remember that in the entire Tannaitic literature only two non-Biblical books are mentioned by name: Megillat Taanit (Mishna Taanit II, 8) and Megillat Hassidim or Harissim (Sifre, Deut. 48 and Midrash Tannaim 42); the former thanks to its Halakhic contents is still extant, and the latter no longer so. The disappearance of the apocalyptic literature from among the Jews shows as little opposition on the part of the Rabbis to it as the disappearance of the Book of Judith shows any opposition of the Rabbis against this genuinely Pharisaic writing. The Synagogue at the time of the Tannaim did not use any book younger than Daniel and there is not one apocalyptic writing that antedates this Biblical book. One might add that, disregarding Ben Sira, which really enjoyed, at least for a time a semi-canonical character, it would be as difficult to prove the existence of a pre-Maccabean Apocryphon as that of a post-Maccabean Biblical book. There is therefore very little probability in the assumption that the Jewish schools that survived the destruction of Jerusalem rejected writings "which played an important part in the older religious life of Jerusalem and the dominions of Herod Antipas in the days when the Temple was yet standing and the Jewish state was still a reality".[41] The Rabbis of Jabneh would never have hit upon the time of the Maccabean revolution as the end of the period of inspiration. This distinction must have been conferred upon the time of the Maccabees at a very early date. It is perhaps not superfluous to call attention to the fact that the discussion at the school of Jabneh concerning the Canon points in the direction of a rather liberal attitude towards it, by far more so, than that taken by the schools of Shammai and Hillel at the time of the Jewish state. Ecclesiastes, Esther and Song of Songs were denied admission into the Canon by these schools, while the scholars at Jabneh declared them canonical. But there is no book mentioned that was excluded at Jabneh from the Canon and there is not the least likelihood that there ever existed such a one.[42]

[41] Prof. Burkitt, "*Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*", 10.

[42] That Ben Sira was a very popular book, no one would deny, but where are the proofs that it was considered canonical by Palestinian Jewry?

Professor Burkitt in his highly instructive lectures on "*Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*" quotes a saying by Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai which, he believes, really implies the renunciation of the apocalyptic idea, the notion that the Kingdom of God was an external state of things, which was just upon the point of being manifested and (as a corollary) that the person of insight could know something about it beforehand. This saying of Rabban Johanan reads: God revealed to Abram this world, but the world to come he did not reveal to him. In a note Professor Burkitt remarks that according to Rabbi Akiba, on the contrary, God revealed to Abram both this world and that which is to come. But, adds Professor Burkitt, Akiba unlike Johanan ben Zakkai believed that the Kingdom of God was at hand.[43]

If this however be so, one might as well quote R. Akiba's view to prove the predilection of the Rabbis for the apocalyptic idea as that of Rabbi Johanan in proof of their opposition to it. We know for certain that at the final delineation of the Canon Rabban Johanan was no longer living, while Rabbi Akiba took a very important part in the deliberations leading to it. Accordingly we certainly would expect a much more favorable attitude towards the apocalyptic writings from the school of Jabneh than from the schools of Shammai and Hillel in the year 66. That Rabbi Akiba did not stand isolated in his expectation of the imminent manifestation of the Kingdom of God is clearly shown by the "small apocalypse" found in the Mishna Sota, end, the only one of its kind in the entire Tannaitic literature. The author or transmitter of this apocalypse was no other than "Rabbi

[43] Genesis R. XLIV, 22, states only that R. Johanan and R. Akiba differ as to the nature of the revelation, at the "covenant between the pieces", but there is no way of telling who holds the one view and who the other, and one may doubt whether the saying attributed to R. Johanan by Prof. Burkitt does not really belong to R. Akiba. By the way, the difference of opinion between these Tannaim is of a purely exegetical nature, based upon the different interpretation of the ב in Genesis 15 18. II Baruch 4 4, and IV Ezra 3 13, 14 agree with the view that the time to come was shown to Abram, while among the Amoraim both views are represented; comp. Genesis R. l. c.

Eleazar the Great",[44] the favorite disciple of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai. But even the master himself counted upon the speedy appearance of the Messiah with such certainty that one of his ordinances regulating a certain religious ceremony had its reason in this expectation.[45]

It would therefore not be true to the ascertainable facts to maintain that for the leading Rabbis in the first and the second generations after the destruction of the Temple the Messianic hopes were not as actual and real as they were for the generation living at the time of the great catastrophe or shortly before it.

A saying by Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai truly characteristic of the attitude of the Rabbis towards the apocalyptic idea is the following one; he said: "If thou hast a sapling in thy hands and thou art told: Behold, the Messiah has come, plant thy sapling and then go to meet him".[46] The Apocalyptics cut loose from life, the Rabbis were the guardians and leaders of a nation and they did not fail to see in the wild and vague visions of those dreamers a true menace to the physical and spiritual welfare of Israel.[47] Ethics is, if not entirely, at all events preeminently social ethics and the apocalyptic movement that flung itself with unrestrained imagination upon the future caring nothing for the present concerns and perils of the individual and the community was not only anti-social but also anti-ethical. If the Prophets had any successors they were not the Apocalyptics who forgot this world and with it men, but the Rabbis for whom the center of gravity of religion was not in a world beyond—important as that thought was—but in the actual life of man on earth. It is true, the ethical element was not ignored by the apocalyptic writers; with some of them it even played an important part

[44] The reading: R. Joshua ben Hananaiah—another favored pupil of R. Johanan—is not based on good authority.

[45] Comp. Rosh Hashanah, 30 a, "speedily the temple will be erected" By "speedily" is meant there, as the content shows, the very next year Comp. also Taanit 17 a: אסור.

[46] II Abot. R. Nathan, XXX, 67. Read מָלָךְ instead of לך.

[47] It would be very difficult to prove the contention that the attitude of the apocalyptic authors toward the Torah was different from that taken by the Rabbis.

This, however, must not deceive us, any more than it did the great Rabbis, who clearly perceived that the apocalyptic view, which lacked touch with the vital problems of man, really endangered the moral element in the Jewish religion.

The "end" is the outstanding feature of the apocalyptic writings and one is apt to forget of what great importance the "beginning" was to these authors. Yet very likely the vagaries and fantasmagoria of the apocalypses about creation or, to use the term of the Rabbis, "the works at the beginning", were primarily responsible for the disappearance of this kind of literature from among the Jews. As early as the time of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai we meet with the prohibition against discussing the "beginning" with more than one person and this prohibition was the death knell for a goodly number of the apocalypses. A matter not to be discussed becomes quickly a matter not to be read.[48]

The demonology and angelology of the apocalypses not rarely discussed by them in connection with the story of creation were again of a nature that could not but repulse those who were not blind to the danger lurking in the attempt to turn popular fancy into a system of theology. The Rabbis and, of course, still more so the people undoubtedly believed in the existence of angels and demons. But like many other popular beliefs, they meant very little in the religious life of the people and still less in that of the Rabbis. The apocalyptic writings began to make wide use of these popular beliefs, first for purely literary reasons. In describing, for instance, an ascension to Heaven one could not well dispose of the angels or the description would have fallen flat; when God commands man can only obey, with an angel one can argue and dispute. Nor are the demons to be neglected, if one strives to achieve dramatic effects, as, for instance, the author of the book of Enoch in describing the depravity of mankind at the time of the deluge. What at the beginning was merely literary form gradually became theology, angels and demons began to be considered from a speculative point of view.

[48] Comp. Mishnah Hagigah II, 1, and Tosefta, II, 1. It is worth while noticing that Daniel is one of the very few apocalypses that does not contain cosmological speculations, and this apocalypse is the only one admitted into the canon.

The true leaders of Judaism saw the danger and therefore avoided as far as possible in their sayings and writings even the mentioning of angels and demons. It is certainly not an accident that the Mishna never speaks of angels or demons and that in the other Tannaitic sources they are very rarely referred to.

Of course, it would be an error to infer from it any disregard for angels and demons on the part of the Rabbis. But it is a far more grievous error to see in the widely developed demonology and angelology of the apocalypses the religious conceptions and sentiments of the people (Volksfrömmigkeit), in opposition to the teachings of the scribes (Schriftgelehrtentum) as found in the Tannaitic literature. Whatever the Rabbis might have been, we must not think of them as a class by themselves separated from the people; they were neither monks nor professors. They were of the people, lived with the people and worked for the people. Accordingly the most pronounced feature of the Haggadah of the Tannaim is its popular character, a great part thereof being the spoken word addressed by the Rabbis to the people. The apocalyptic writings by their fixed literary forms and their obscurities were not meant for the people, but for the initiated ones. The true mirror of the religious life of the Jews we find therefore in the homely and simple sayings and the teachings of the Rabbis and not in the literary productions of the Apocalyptic writers who wrote primarily for a "class" of men like themselves and not for the people.

THE PLACE OF APOCALYPTICAL CONCEPTIONS IN THE MIND OF JESUS

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ABOUT twenty years have now passed since the apocalyptic theory of the Gospels came to the fore-front, and controversy has had time in the interval to follow the usual course. Extreme positions were at first adopted on either side. There were many scholars, liberal as well as conservative, who fought against the new interpretation, while others espoused it with a juvenile ardour, and insisted, like Schweitzer, that the teaching of Jesus must all be resolved into a "consistent eschatology". Since then the opinions on both sides have grown more moderate. It cannot be said that any full agreement is yet in sight, but at any rate we have learned to approach the question dispassionately. Those who were frightened by the new hypothesis have now got accustomed to it, and are willing to acknowledge that at some points it answers to the facts. Those who were dazzled by its novelty are coming to see it in due perspective, and to do justice to other aspects of the thought of Jesus which they formerly left out of account.

That Jesus was in sympathy with the apocalyptic hopes of his time and that he understood them in no merely metaphorical sense, can now be regarded as certain. He took up the message of John the Baptist, who undoubtedly announced a Kingdom of God such as the people were looking for. He proclaimed his gospel in terms which bore a definite apocalyptic meaning, and we cannot believe that he perplexed his hearers by employing them in some new esoteric sense of his own. His sayings about

the nature of the Kingdom and the manner of its coming can be parallelled again and again from the surviving apocalyptic literature. Add to all this that the primitive church admittedly looked for his return in Messianic glory to inaugurate a visible Kingdom of God. There is indeed every ground for believing that the church accentuated the apocalyptic note in his message. Not only were the disciples very ordinary men, who would interpret in a crude and literal sense much that he may have spoken figuratively, but they were overpowered by the tremendous events which had closed his career. They were in a mood to expect miracles, and to read back a marvellous significance into all that he had done and said. The promises recorded in the Gospels may in large measure be the outcome of those extravagant hopes which prevailed in the early church. Yet there must have been something in the teaching itself that warranted the interpretation now placed on it.

Admitting, however, that he worked with apocalyptic ideas it by no means follows that everything in his message must be fitted into a "consistent eschatology". This phrase, indeed, is meaningless, for the one thing certain about Jewish apocalyptic thinking is that it had no consistency. In their forecasts of the final events no two of the extant writings are consistent with each other, and no one writing, for that part, is consistent with itself. There are certain broad ideas which pervade apocalyptic as a whole, but the different writers all feel themselves at liberty to modify and adapt them, and to express their own beliefs in terms of the traditional imagery. Are we to demand from Jesus alone that every detail in his forecast must bear a fixed meaning, and fit in exactly with a rigid scheme? We recognise that the authors of Enoch and 4 Esdras had a practical purpose in view, and that it modified and controlled their apocalyptic thinking. Are we to assume that Jesus sacrificed everything to apocalyptic consistency? He may surely be credited also with some practical religious purpose, which meant more to him than the forms in which he expressed it.

So the apocalyptic of Jesus is not consistent, even if it be granted that his teaching is mainly apocalyptic. But this cannot be granted. The apocalyptic element does not bulk largely in

the record, even as we have it, and when due allowance is made for all that has been read in by the evangelists it shrinks to a far smaller proportion. The affinities of Jesus when we judge him by his teaching as a whole were much more with the prophets than with the apocalyptists. That the apocalyptic strain is present, often where we might least suspect it, need not be denied. It runs through the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer, as well as through the sayings about the future. But its function almost everywhere is to enforce a message that is *not* apocalyptic. Even for John the Baptist the hope of the Kingdom had value, not for its own sake, but as the lever for a moral appeal. "The day is at hand,—you are to stand presently before the Judge: therefore repent." Much more the real message of Jesus is independent of the apocalyptic ideas and can easily be detached from them. His demand was for a new kind of life, a new relation to God, and while he looked for the Kingdom his interest was in those moral requirements which it involved.

Indeed it may fairly be argued that although Jesus fell in with the apocalyptic outlook his thought was in inward contradiction to it, and that not a few of the difficulties which have been brought to light by the modern enquiry are due to this cause. The two outstanding features of apocalyptic thought are that the Kingdom lies in the future, and that it will come suddenly by the immediate act of God. However much they differ in their conceptions the apocalyptists all share these two primary beliefs; and they could not do otherwise, in view of the very nature of apocalyptic. It was the outgrowth of a profound pessimism. For the time being God seemed to have withdrawn from the government of the world. Doubtless he was still King, but with the evil present He could do nothing, and His people must be content to wait patiently for the coming day when he would assert His sovereignty. It followed that when His Kingdom *did* come it would appear suddenly and miraculously. In the world now running to decay there were no regenerating forces which by their own action would gradually bring about the better time. God must Himself interpose, by an immediate act of power.

Now these fundamental beliefs of apocalyptic were both foreign to the mind of Jesus. Not only so, but they were directly opposed

to the convictions he lived by, and which underlie all his teaching. He believed that God rules the world and that everything is ordered by Him, so that not a sparrow falls to the ground without His knowledge. In this absolute trust that God is sovereign he submitted himself unreservedly to the will of God, and called on his followers to do likewise. To be sure he says much about the coming Kingdom, yet what he demands is not the apocalyptic faith that in some future time all wrongs will be righted, but the faith that God is reigning now, in spite of all the mystery in which His ways are enshrouded. This is the very heart of the religion of Jesus. If we conceive of him as merely the herald of a future Kingdom we take the key-stone out of his teaching and out of the whole story of his life. In like manner, he is in conflict with the apocalyptic view that no forces for good are working in the present, and that if the Kingdom comes it must break in by a miraculous act. He sees the goodness of God in the rain and the sunshine, in the natural kindness of men to one another, in the impulses that are continually leading them to better things. He makes his appeal, ever and again, to the goodness that is present in men, and tries to foster and direct it, so that it may help on the divine purposes. Not only does he recognise that forces for good are operative, but he believes that in the last resort there are no other forces. Evil by its nature is unreal and self-destructive. Only the good has power, and those who follow it may be confident that sooner or later it will overcome, and fulfil itself. With such a belief as this he did not need to expect the apocalyptic miracle. To stake everything upon it would indeed have been little short of treason to his own deepest convictions. Men had come to look for it because their faith had failed, because they had ceased to discern the moral forces or had despaired of their effecting anything. The whole aim of Jesus was to restore that faith which apocalyptic, with its doctrine of a Kingdom which could only come by miracle, had implicitly denied.

There has been much discussion of those isolated sayings in which Jesus appears to speak of the Kingdom as in some sense present. Most of them can be explained away, and it has often been assumed that when we have got rid of them his thought

falls perfectly into line with that of the apocalyptists. To some writers this has appeared so certain that they construe the ethical teaching as nothing more than an "interim ethic", valid only for the short interval before the Kingdom will set in. Others, like Professor Lake in the "Beginnings of Christianity", have more justly inferred that Jesus did not bind himself to apocalyptic theory, but was influenced also by Rabbinical conceptions of the Kingdom as already in being. A new and hopeful field of enquiry is opened by this suggestion. But the problem after all is not one of balancing a few disputed sayings against a number of others, of apparently different tenor. We have rather to deal with a contradiction between the forms employed by Jesus and the inner drift and purport of his message. He declared that the Kingdom was future and must come suddenly and miraculously, as the apocalyptists had taught; and yet he never wavers in his belief that God is reigning, God is silently working *now*. Was he himself aware of the contradiction? Probably not. He took over the apocalyptic ideas as they were current in his time, without reflecting on their origin or on the philosophy that lay behind them. While accepting them with full sincerity he took from them what he needed, allowing all the rest to fall out of sight. They served to make real to him his vision of a better world, in which the will of God should absolutely prevail. They offered him a definite goal towards which he could work and to which he could point his followers. But all the time they were borrowed from a type of thought which was alien to him, and we are not justified in so emphasizing them as to hide his distinctive message. Jewish apocalyptic, when all is said, has not provided us with the key to the teaching of Jesus. At the most it has given us the key to his mode of expressing himself, to the forms under which he thought and by which he was restricted. The real task still remains of exploring the message itself.

The recent attempts to construe the gospel as an apocalyptic must therefore be regarded as mistaken, or at any rate as one-sided. It would be truer to maintain that Jesus destroyed the apocalyptic view of the world, just as he destroyed the Law, although in both cases he claimed to be fulfilling. While he speaks in apocalyptic language and declares that the expected

Kingdom is just at hand, he throws all the weight on ideas of a moral and spiritual nature. He makes the apocalyptic hope subserve these ideas, which were bound in process of time to burst the apocalyptic sheath. This, as a matter of history, is what happened before the first century was over. The message of Jesus as its true implications came to light was found to have shattered the apocalyptic scheme which at first seemed vital to it. Jesus himself, like other great teachers, was unable to foresee the consequences of his own thought. He held to the apocalyptic beliefs and so expressed his message that it might seem to be wholly determined by them. Millennarians can appeal confidently to his actual words. A writer like Tyrrell can plausibly argue that the concern of Jesus was wholly with the coming supernatural order, and that his gospel is best presented in the symbols and sacraments by which the Catholic church attaches itself to that order. But a deeper criticism will only strengthen the conviction which has always forced itself on the plain sense of Christian men. For the mind of Jesus the apocalyptic ideas were not primary. He believed in the new will, in the wisdom and goodness of the Father who ordains all things, in the moral forces which in the end will overcome all evil. By means of apocalyptic, and when necessary in spite of it, He sought to proclaim this faith.

THE 'SON OF MAN' IN THE USAGE OF JESUS

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TO students accustomed to think of "meekness and lowliness" as typical traits in the personal character of Jesus there was distinct relief in the authoritative declaration of eminent philologians some twenty years ago, that the self-designation 'the Son of Man' would be unintelligible in the Palestinian Aramaic of Jesus' time, so that the title with all its connotations of superhuman authority and dignity must be ascribed to the period after the development of the resurrection faith, and could not be an embodiment of Jesus' thought concerning himself.

The relief was all the greater to students who deplored the exaggeration, on the part of the so-called Eschatological school, of the extent to which Jesus' admitted acceptance of current apocalyptic beliefs affected his primary message. Some of us still feel that his primary message was of a different, almost an opposite type; a message of faith and hope, not of despair; glad tidings of a Power for good already at work in the world, and manifesting itself in human hearts, a Power like the subtle working of leaven, or the vitality of seeds, to whose quiet, inconspicuous working would be due the real accomplishment whereof the dramatic Day of Jehovah would be little more than the "manifestation".

Then came Dalman's *Worte Jesu* which seemed to prove, against those of the school of Schmidt and Wellhausen, that Jesus could quite well have employed the term *Bar nasha* in the sense required by the Gospel contexts, if he had so chosen,

without becoming unintelligible to his auditors. He would have been understood to mean by it "that 'mortal' (Menschenkind) referred to in Dan. 7 13 as 'brought with clouds to the Ancient of Days', to receive on Israel's behalf the everlasting kingdom". None of these expressions, 'the kingdom', 'the Ancient of Days', 'the Son of Man' would be intelligible in Jesus' utterance without implied reference to former use in a special and technical sense. But we certainly know that such technical use had been made of the first of the three, and there seems to be no small amount of evidence that such was the case also with the last. To what extent the expression *Bar nasha* was actually current in this sense is not the primary question, nor is it the extent to which it may have acquired, through the usage of *Enoch* and similar apocalypses, new connotations not intended in Daniel. The primary question is simply: Could Jesus have used the term as the Gospels represent, though not necessarily on the particular occasions, nor with the particular intention and connotation which they assume? This question, it would appear, can only be answered in the affirmative. One cannot object the non-appearance of the term in Paul, because Paul has other means of presenting the same doctrine, and unlike the evangelists was not translating from the Aramaic.

Those who were reluctant to accept Dalman's proofs that Jesus might have used the apocalyptic term might be expected on the other hand to welcome his suggestion that Jesus used it in a sense nearer to the original, Danielic sense than to that placed upon it by the apocalyptists who took it over. According to Dalman Jesus used the title Son of Man only to mean what I may call the Suppliant on Israel's behalf at the judgment-seat of the King of kings. In his own words (*op. cit.* p. 217):

> If Jesus attached to Peter's confession of his Messiahship the first announcement of his violent death, this was in order to make it clear that accession to his dominion was still far off, and that Christhood did not imply, but on the contrary excluded, his intervening on his own behalf. Now the "one like unto a son of man" of Dan. 7 13 is one who has yet to receive his dominion. He *might* be one who should have

passed through suffering and death. In any case he is by his very nature no mighty one, no conqueror, no destroyer, but merely a 'mortal' (Menschenkind), whom God has taken under his protection, and for whom he destines great things.

Unfortunately this distinction of Dalman's between the ordinary, apocalyptic sense in which the title was commonly understood in Jesus' time, and the purely Danielic original sense of a suppliant Son of Man, is not borne out by the Gospel records. Jesus has indeed but slight sympathy with the apocalyptists; but we have no ground in this case as in his employment of the title "Messiah" (χριστός), for maintaining that he undertook to raise the ordinary term to a new level of meaning "according to the things of God". The Gospels offer no indication as regards this title that he used it in any other than the commonly accepted sense. For if he had made the distinction there was the greatest occasion for the evangelists noting the fact.

Two points, however, do seem to have been established by Dalman and later writers in the course of this long controversy. 1) Jesus did make frequent use, even in his earlier ministry, of this peculiar expression "the Son of Man", using it as a designation for the agent of divine justice in Jehovah's 'Day'.[1] 2) In the latter part of his ministry Jesus so far departed from his usual objective, non-committal references to 'the Son of Man', his 'Day', or his 'Coming', and the like, as to suggest to his disciples a connection between this event and his own fate; though the suggestion may not have been brought home to them until the tragedy of Calvary recalled it in a lurid light.

If I may be permitted to anticipate the results of the study which I must presently describe in detail I would suggest the following as the historical facts which best account for all the phenomena.

(1) From the outset Jesus had a Son of Man doctrine. In taking up the Baptist's warning to repentance Jesus could

[1] On this point see the definite pronouncement of the editors of *Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. I, p. 374: "Few things are so probable as the use of Son of Man by Jesus".

not but refer to the Being of whom John had spoken as coming after him to winnow Jehovah's threshing-floor, gathering the wheat into his garner, and burning up the chaff with unquenchable fire, John is not speaking of Jehovah, to whom the saying "I am not worthy to loose his shoe's latchet" would not be applicable. Neither does he mean the Angel of the Covenant, of whom the phraseology derived from Malachi might incline us to think. The personality in mind is human, though endowed with miraculous powers, for it is when he hears of "the mighty works" done by Jesus that John sends to enquire: "Art thou the Coming One (ὁ ἐρχόμενος)?" The personality is the same, though John does not use (perhaps we may say, avoids using) the distinctive title.

(2) Jesus uses the distinctive title, but from the very nature of the case cannot have used it in application to himself during that period of his ministry wherein his messiahship was still a 'secret'. In all his utterances down to the revelation of this secret to the Twelve at Caesarea Philippi, and in all his *public* utterances down to the last, Jesus' use of the title must have been impersonal and objective, as who should say: "He whom Jehovah will send to execute His judgment". This necessary reserve is vividly illustrated in the incident of the Baptist's Enquiry; for the reply is purposely ambiguous. Its substance is: "Tell John of the work of saving grace which you see God accomplishing through me, and not to let the question of my personality stand in the way of the hope and cheer it should bring him". The refusal of a categorical reply on the question put stands at swords' points with the representation of the evangelist that in the very next breath Jesus openly spoke of himself to the surrounding multitude as "the Son of Man". The evangelist's idea is not that of his source.

(3) After the close of the Galilean ministry, confronted with the alternative of abandoning his mission to Israel or carrying his message to the national centre, Jesus reveals the fact that he has also a Son of David doctrine. In spite of recent very high authority in denial of this, no other explanation of the course of events from this time on until the rallying of the scattered flock under leadership of Peter to the watchword

"God hath made him both Lord and Christ" seems to me historically credible. From Caesarea Philippi on the movement of Jesus took on a nationalistic character. The religious ideal was to be attained through Israel's acceptance of his leadership in place of the husbandmen who refused to Jehovah the fruits of His vineyard. It is impossible to imagine belief in his messiahship growing up *after* the crucifixion. It is almost equally impossible to account for the conduct of friends or enemies before the great catastrophe without this claim on Jesus' part to *messianic* leadership.

(4) The problem grows out of the relation of these two beliefs, in this chronological relation. Not, first the doctrine of personal adherence to Jesus as Son of David, to which certain more or less incongruous attributes of the Son of Man become attached; but, first a doctrine of the Coming One, the Son of Man, quite without reference to the person of Jesus, followed through pressure of harsh necessity by the appeal to a personal loyalty centering in Jesus as anointed Leader of Israel toward a kingdom "according to the things of God". For

(5) At Caesarea Philippi the alternative had also to be faced of rejection and death. This was indeed the more probable of the two. Would this mean the failure of the divine ideal? Certainly not. But if not, the victory would have to come "on the clouds of heaven". The kingdom must be given not to a Son of David here on earth, but to a Son of Man (who may of course be no other than this same Son of David) at the judgment seat of the Highest. Until Calvary no follower of Jesus could have said by which road the deliverance must come. After it, rallying faith could not fail to lay hold of the Danielic prophecy to which the Gospels with one consent bear witness Jesus had himself appealed in presenting the alternative; and the bridge was the Isaian doctrine of the sacrificed Servant. Over this the broken following of Jesus, dismayed at the tragedy because unwilling with him to confront the darker as well as the more hopeful alternative, returned to its allegiance and an ultimate triumph.

On the whole it seems improbable that Jesus himself made

any appeal to the Isaian prophecy. But Paul is explicit in teaching that this was a foundation stone of the primitive faith. All sources unite in attributing to Peter and his associates in the first days after the great tragedy, the discovery, as by revelation of God, that "thus it behooved the Christ to suffer and to enter into his glory". First the doctrine of the Coming One, the Son of Man; second the doctrine of the Son of David, to whom it is the Father's good pleasure to give the kingdom; third the discovery that "according to the Scriptures" the Servant humbled and obedient unto a sacrificial death, is also he who is "exalted and made very high". Such is the progress of doctrine according to the testimony of New Testament Christology. Whether the phenomena of the documents in their use of the title Son of Man bear out this provisional understanding is the problem with which we have now to concern ourselves.

The most recent, and certainly one of the most scholarly discussions of this subject appears in Chapter IV of the well known work *Beginnings of Christianity* (1920) under the caption "Christology". The authors agree that analysis of Mark, our oldest Gospel, reveals the fact that to this evangelist Jesus was preeminently "the Christ", but (as these authors hold) not because he was "the Son of David"; rather because he was the Son of Man. The efforts of the later Synoptists to overcome the adverse implications of Mk. 12 35-37 by prefixing the genealogies and stories of the infancy they regard as a leading proof "that Jesus did not claim to be or consider himself to be the 'Davidic Messiah'" (p. 366). This was a subsequent development possibly "hastened by the conversion to Christianity of Jews who had maintained the claims of the Davidic dynasty against the Hasmonaeans or the Herods". By the time of the later strata of Synoptic tradition and the earlier chapters of Acts:

> the identification of Jesus with the Scion of David had become a prominent part of Christian belief; to prove the Davidic claim of Jesus is one of the chief objects of the genealogies in Matthew and Luke. But the figure of the Scion of David had coalesced with that of the Son of Man rather than taken its place, and the term 'Christ' covered

both. Moreover, this merging of the two figures with each other was the result of their identification with Jesus, not the cause of it. The Anointed Son of Man is the anointed son of David not because the two figures were originally identical, or because 'anointed' was a Jewish title which could only belong to one person, but because Christians found both the Son of Man and the Son of David in Jesus, and therefore were forced to say that the Son of Man is the Son of David, and to attribute to either figure everything believed or prophesied of the other.

We can agree to the conclusion drawn by the editors that "the idea of the Son of David was added to that of the Son of Man, rather than the Son of Man to that of the Son of David" if it be recognized that the "merging of the two figures" is not a mere literary phenomenon in the early history of Gospel tradition, but something for which Jesus is himself responsible, whether in explicit words, or by implication, when he compelled his disciples to face the unwelcome possibility of martyrdom. Mark is indeed careful to show that in identifying himself with "the Christ" Jesus expressly disclaimed "Davidic" messiahship. That is called a conception "after the things of men", Satanic, part of the blindness which even Peter still shares with his people. According to Mark Jesus claims to be "the Christ" only in so far as this title has the apocalyptic sense of Son of Man. For this reason he attaches after his account of Peter's Confession a story of vision and Voice from heaven manifesting to Peter and his companions the true nature of the Christ and his redemptive work. It is to be "not according to the things of men, but of God". What seems to be overlooked in this able discussion of Markan Christology is the fact that this Gospel evinces not a primitive so much as an advanced stage in Christian belief. The Christ ἀγενεαλόγητος of Ps. 110 belongs to the typical Christology of the writer of Hebrews. Paul not only places this Christology in the very forefront of his systematic presentation of his gospel (Rom. 1 4), but forestalls Mark's antithesis between it and the mundane Christhood both here (Rom. 1 3) and elsewhere (II Cor. 5 16).

In this opposition to the Son of David Christology Mark

is not so much primitive as Pauline, and in opposing he presupposes. For the disproof of the expectation of "the scribes" in Mk. 12 35-37 is as much an answer to the cry "Thou son of David" of Bartimaeus and the multitude (10 47f; 11 10) as the Transfiguration vision to the Confession of Peter. Mk. 12 35-37 is an editorial supplement to the debate with Pharisee, Sadducee, and Scribe (12 13-34), not an original feature of the source. The Roman evangelist is anti-Jewish Christian.

Nor is Mark primitive in his use of the title Son of Man. He borrows it unexplained from earlier sources, assuming that his readers will know that it was (to use the modern phrase) "a favorite self-designation of Jesus". His prologue (Mk. 1 1-13), in which Jesus is simply "the Christ", "the Son of God" in the sense of I Pt. 1 20f. (not to say of Col. 1 15-17), defines his Christology once for all. He uses the title Son of Man as the appropriate one for certain connections (whose significance we have to search into), but his readers are supposed to know that this is a title which should have reminded the Jews of a Christhood according to the things of God, which they in their πώρωσις were blind to.

We cannot, therefore, accept the conclusion of our Cambridge scholars that:

> The Christians who first of all regarded Jesus as the anointed Son of Man, the judge of the world, came soon to accept the popular expectation and to regard Jesus as the anointed Scion of David as well as the Son of Man.

Previous to his death Jesus' followers did not regard him as the Son of Man. The turning point of their faith was when, after the catastrophe, they began to do so. But they might never have come to the point of making this identification, near as it lay in view of Jesus' words of assurance as he neared the cross, had not the coincidence of his work and fate with that predicted for the Isaian Servant come first to their mind. We do agree, however, with these eminent scholars that the solution of the question must come through tracing

> the meaning and connotation of these other titles (besides Χριστός)—Son of Man and Servant—in order to see how much

they represent in the earliest thought of the disciples, and how they were treated by Gentiles who had no previous knowledge of their meaning.

For this purpose our authors subjoin a table of occurrences of the title Son of Man in I. Marcan Passages; II. Passages in Q; III. Passages peculiar to Matthew; IV. Passages peculiar to Luke (p. 375f.). By comparison of these statistics two main inferences are drawn. (1) Mark and Q agree in the mass of passages "in which 'Son of Man' is used in connection with the Parousia. He is to come unexpectedly on the clouds of heaven, seated at the right hand of power". (2) "In Mark, but not in Q, there are equally noticeable passages in which the name of Son of Man is connected not with the Parousia, but with the Passion". These outstanding facts can only be accepted. It is doubtless also the fact that the Gospel writers have in a number of instances substituted the title for a simple "I" of the original, and probable that in one case (Mt. 8 20 = Lk. 9 58)—a case not so reckoned by the authors—'Son of Man' is due to literal translation of an Aramaic proverbial saying.[2] The three passages which the Cambridge authors adduce as instances of this we cannot accept. We reject the first (Mk. 2 28) because verse 27, on which their argument is based, is a typical instance of 'Western non-interpolation' and so forms no part of the authentic text. We reject the other two because of difference of interpretation.[3] Finally we must demur to the statement (p. 386) that "In Mark and Q there are no signs of any identification of Jesus with the sufferer of Isaiah 53". The references to Isaiah in Mark are rare, and even of these Mk. 9 12 has all the appearance of a gloss (though a gloss already known to Matthew; cf. Mt. 17 12). But "the Son of Man goeth, even as it is written of him" (Mk. 14 21) is surely a "clear reference to Is. 53", and confirms the indications that "the use of the word παραδίδωμι in Mark 14 18, 21, etc., is connected with the constant use of the same word in Isaiah 53". True, Mark is no more primary in his use of the Servant theme

[2] See below, p. 159.
[3] See below, p. 163.

than in his use of Son of David, or Son of Man. His references (including the reference to Ps. 22 1 in the duplicate to Mk. 15 37 prefixed in verses 34–36) are borrowed and unexplained. But in addition to his confirmation of the witness of Q that Jesus habitually spoke of the Coming one of John the Baptist as "the Son of Man" Mark certainly warrants our laying down the following as historic facts.

(1) From the time when Jesus set his face to go up to Jerusalem, but not before, Jesus turned his disciples' attention to his own personality, placing loyalty to himself in the foreground as essential to the cause.

(2) Without this change from an impersonal preaching of repentance in view of impending judgment to a direct effort to inaugurate a national movement under his personal leadership neither the popular support accorded to Jesus in his defiance of the hierocracy at Jerusalem, nor his execution by Pilate, nor the subsequent rallying to his banner of adherents who proclaimed him "the Christ", predicting his return as Son of Man, and explaining his sufferings as divinely appointed for the Servant, can be made historically intelligible.

(3) The self-devoting loyalty which animated Jesus' followers and explains this historical sequence was not obtained on the plea: "This is the Son of Man"; but "This is the Son of David". The more Mark is opposed to a Jewish-Christian type of Christology the more conclusive is his unwilling witness to this fact.

In order to show that the phenomena of the Gospels in their employment of the title Son of Man are in accordance with the growth of Christology as thus described we may now turn to a new survey of these employments, using a tabulation made independently of the present issues by Professor N. Schmidt, s. v. "Son of Man" in the Encyclopaedia Biblica (vol. iv., col. 4713).

A beginning has been made in the task of discriminating the usage of the various Gospel writers by Harnack in his attempted reconstruction of the "Second Source".[4] We may

[4] *Sprüche und Reden*, English: *The Sayings of Jesus, the Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke*, 1908.

properly speak of this "Second Source" as the oldest, for Wellhausen's attempt to explain the relation between it and Mark by dependence on the side of Mark has been reversed by almost unanimous consent. Harnack himself leaves open the question whether the relation in the case of Mark is that of direct literary dependence; but on the question of priority he feels no hesitation. After isolating by the usual processes the Q (or Second-Source) material, he undertakes the enquiry whether in it "the Son of Man" is already assumed to be "a favorite self-designation of Jesus". One who carefully follows his study of all the data will find it hard to escape the conclusion that in Q such is really the case. Harnack states his conclusion as follows (p. 239):

> We must acknowledge that in Q the phrase has become simply a term which our Lord ordinarily used when speaking of himself. Seeing that Q pays no regard to chronology, this source is not suitable as an authority upon which to base investigations as to the period at which our Lord began so to describe himself. Such investigations can only be based upon the Gospel of St. Mark. Q, however, gives some help in that we learn from this source how completely and quickly the consciousness, that there was once a time when our Lord did not so name himself, had vanished from tradition. There can scarcely be any doubt as to the sense of the expression in Q. If in Q the only historical passages—historical, that is, in the narrower sense of the word—are the narratives of the testimony of the Baptist to the coming Messiah, (of the Baptism), and of the Messianic temptation, and if then abruptly and repeatedly the expression "the Son of Man" crops up in the collection of sayings, it necessarily follows that in Q the term can mean nothing else than "the Messiah"

Harnack, accordingly, considers that the title "Son of Man" had already been introduced in this precanonical source in a systematic way, as equivalent to "the Messiah". In Q, as later, it occurs only in the mouth of Jesus. As reported by Matthew (not Luke) the Source itself refers to Jesus as ὁ Χριστός (Mt. 11 2?). But Harnack justly regards the representation as

unhistorical, at least as respects "the period at which our Lord began so to describe himself". In a footnote to the passage he is quite specific:

> Of course one cannot be sure that Jesus always called himself Son of Man in those passages where Q makes him thus speak of himself. It is, for example, more than doubtful that Jesus used the expression in section 15 (Mt. 11 19 = Lk. 7 34), when before, in the same discourse (section 14, Mt. 11 2 ff. = Lk. 7 18 ff.), he had plainly enough avoided any messianic self-designation.

In recognizing such systematic self-designation by Jesus to be inadmissible for the earlier period of the ministry Harnack is of course only confirming the admission of Dalman. Both yield to the common-sense consideration that such use would be incompatible with Jesus' admitted 'reserve' regarding his own person and destiny. But in referring us to Mark for more reliable testimony Harnack certainly does not promote the solution of the problem. For notoriously neither Mark nor any other extant Gospel gives any explanation of the term itself, nor of the use to which it is put by Jesus. If an explanation be sought we must seek it in the remoter period back of our extant Gospels.

For Mark is fully as unhistorical and anachronistic as Q in his representation of the usage of Jesus. At the very outset, in Mk. 2 10 and 28, this evangelist represents Jesus as meeting the objection of the scribes to his pronouncing forgiveness of sins, and of the Pharisees to his disregard of the Sabbath, by a defiant claim to have authority as "the Son of Man", even while still on earth, before ascending to his heavenly judgment seat, both to forgive sins and to set aside the institutions of Mosaism. In Jn. 5 1–47 this line of argument is carried to its logical issue. On occasion of a similar healing and disregard of the Sabbath Jesus is made to say (ver. 26 f.):

> For as the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son also to have life in himself (cf. Mk. 3 4): and he gave him authority to execute judgment, because he is the Son of Man.

The dogmatic intention of the second evangelist to prove the claim of Jesus to superhuman authority (ἐξουσία) by appeal to his mighty works is unmistakable; but not more so than his indifference to historical consistency in making Jesus publicly defend this claim while at the same time keeping secret his Messianic calling and functions. But the inconsistency is much easier to explain if in this anachronistic use of the title 'Son of Man' Mark is not setting a precedent, but merely extending to wider use an unhistorical representation of the Second Source. Our first task, accordingly, must be to appraise at their true value the conclusions of Harnack regarding the use of this title in Q.

Great as are the exceptions which the present writer feels compelled to take to Harnack's views on other points, such as the nature of the Second Source, and its relation to Matthew and Luke respectively, it must be admitted that on the question here in debate his inferences represent not a maximum but a minimum. The Second Source is not Q. That is one of the misleading ambiguities of Harnack's treatment. Q is only the common material of Matthew and Luke which these two later Synoptists do not derive from Mark. It is (broadly speaking) what English critics used to call the 'double-tradition' material. The larger part of this is certainly taken from a written document which when employed by Matthew and Luke was already in the Greek language. We designate it the Second Source, because it stands next to Mark in the proportion of material it has furnished the two later Synoptists. How much of the single-tradition material of Matthew and Luke respectively has also been taken from this Source we can only judge by intrinsic affinities between it and Q material already accepted.

Then there is the 'triple-tradition' material, that is, material found in all three Synoptics. Usually it is in such form and context as to prove that Matthew and Luke have independently borrowed it from Mark. How much of this may have been taken by Mark himself from the Second Source, we have but the slenderest means of judging. Harnack goes to the extreme in excluding everything but Q material from his judgment of the nature of the Source. He admits nothing from single

tradition material, nothing from the triple tradition. He even excludes a portion of what other critics regard as genuine double-tradition material because it differs widely in form as between the two witnesses Matthew and Luke. This is done with small consideration for the fact that the differences can sometimes be explained as due to editorial changes characteristic of the evangelist in question. The basis of judgment for Harnack is therefore certainly a minimum.

This method is manifestly the safe one. It may do injustice to the constructive affirmations we might be able to make as to the nature of the Source. In point of fact it has led Harnack himself to certain unwarranted conclusions as to the fragmentary and incoherent character of the Source. Others, carried away by the illusion (unfortunately shared by Harnack) that Papias had something to say about this Source, something connecting it with the Apostle Matthew and describing its character, have pushed these unwarranted conclusions to still greater lengths. But these do not affect the question before us, save to reduce the material available for proof. Whatever else may have belonged to the Second Source we are sure of the main sections of Q material, and in these Harnack's conclusions are already justified. As our enquiries continue they will plainly appear as corroborated and reenforced by the data otherwise attainable.

The relatively small number of occurrences in the fourth Gospel may be omitted from present consideration. Interesting as is the usage which characterizes this Hellenistic Gospel, its comparatively late and dependent relation to the other three, and the theological rather than historical aim of the evangelist are so generally admitted, that we may reasonably confine our survey to the Synoptists and the Second Source. Here it may prove possible by comparison of each with the rest to determine with greater or less probability what principles have controlled the usage, both as respects occurrences merely transcribed from earlier sources and extensions undertaken by the evangelist on his own responsibility. Let us consider first the extensions.

We may probably assume a general assent to the conclusion of Harnack regarding the usage of Q in its broadest, most general form, that some of the occurrences in the Second

Source are due to the evangelist rather than to Jesus himself. The particular instance Harnack has in view is that of the saying contrasting the work of "the Son of Man" with that of the Baptist in the Q discourse on this subject (Mt. 11 19 = Lk. 7 34). But there may well be other cases also in which the pre-canonical evangelist has substituted the title for the personal pronoun according to his own idea of fitness. On the other hand only an extreme and unreasonably sceptical criticism would venture to assume that he had no historical foundation at all for his practice of limiting his use of the term to utterances of Jesus. We may therefore probably assume a general assent also to the converse proposition: Some of the occurrences in Q represent the actual usage of Jesus. A survey of the eight instances enumerated by Schmidt in the strictly Q material, that is, occurrences presented in common by Matthew and Luke in non-Markan material, ought to throw some light on the question what sort of usage, if any, came down to the pre-canonical evangelist by tradition or otherwise as representative of Jesus, and what sort of usage is typical of himself.

Of the eight occurrences in Q four, or precisely one-half, are of a single type and occur in a single connection. All four are found in the eschatological discourse of Mt. 24 27–44, paralleling Lk. 17 24–30 and 12 40. The section forms part of Matthew's parallel to the eschatological discourse of Mark (Mk. 13), combining with it that of the Second Source in Lk. 17 20–37, just as Luke himself has combined elements from both in his own parallel to Mark (Lk. 21). The general theme of the entire context is the 'Day of the Son of Man', a day of his sudden Coming, a Day of judgment unescapable, for which one must prepare by sincere repentance. For the evangelists the equivalence "The Son of Man = Jesus redivivus" is a matter of course. Their writings are certainly of later date than the utterances of Paul himself and of others referred to in 1 Thess. 1 10 and 4 15–17, wherein his converts are reminded how he had taught them to wait for God's Son from heaven, "even Jesus who delivereth us from the wrath to come". The doctrine is assured by "a word of the Lord", probably uttered by the Spirit through some Christian 'prophet', that

> The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and the trump of God.

We also have a reminder in 2 Cor. 5 10, and (if the reading be correct) in Rom. 14 10 also, that we must all "stand before the judgment seat of Christ" to receive the due reward of our deeds. Paul eschews the term, but the belief is primitive and general. Why, then, should not the very earliest Gospel sources reflect it in the "favorite self-designation"?

But it is at least worthy of our notice that in the utterances themselves the assumed equivalence is conspicuously absent.[5] Jesus speaks objectively and in the third person of "the Son of Man" as the agent of the divine judgment. In all these warnings to Repent, because of the Coming, the Day, the Judgment, of the Son of Man, there is no suggestion that Jesus thinks of himself as the Coming One. Indeed in such utterances of similar warning as Mt. 5 25 f. = Lk. 12 58 f., where the title "Son of Man" does not appear, it is much more natural to think of God as Judge. This is apparently the case, so far as the saying itself is concerned, in Mt. 10 32 f. = Lk. 12 8 f. For here Jesus himself (Luke "the Son of Man") is present, not as Judge, but as Witness on behalf of those who have loyally confessed him on the earth. The inference would seem to be that while Jesus availed himself of expressions common to the current apocalyptic eschatology, such as "the Day", the "Coming", the "Sign" of the "Son of Man", he left the question of his own relation to this Coming One quite open, at least in his public exhortations to repentance.

Since there is no need to suppose that Jesus intended in these four utterances any such identification of his own personality with "the Son of Man" as the evangelists assume, and the linguistic objection appears not to be sustained, there can be no good reason for questioning their authenticity. The case is far otherwise with the other four occurrences of 'double tradition'. Apart from the fact that all four are conspicuously open to the objection that they violate the principle of "reserve", they are individually subject to other adverse considerations.

[5] Lk. 17 26 is not in the source.

(1) The logion "The Son of Man hath not where to lay his head" (Mt. 8 20 = Lk. 9 58) may well be a proverbial saying, used in the sense of the parallel utterance of Tiberius Gracchus regarding Rome's homeless veterans. It is difficult to conceive it in the mouth of Jesus, whose experience of generous hospitality both for himself and his disciples makes him promise them repeatedly (Mt. 10 11 = Lk. 10 5-7; Mk. 10 30) a kindly reception, and who refers afterward to their having received it (Lk. 22 35). The utterance seems improbable in Jesus' mouth because contrary to fact. But even at the early period of the Second Source we must allow for an occasional 'winged word' being ascribed to Jesus without better reason than resemblance in some catchword such as "Son of Man". The expression is here used, of course, in antithesis with the animal creation.

(2) The contrast of the mode of life of "the Son of Man" with that of John the Baptist (Mt. 11 19 = Lk. 7 34) is generally recognized as exhibiting one of the unhistorical occurrences of the title, for reasons already set forth.

(3) In the same context the title recurs again in the saying which makes "the Son of Man" a sign to "this generation" as Jonah had been to the Ninevites (Mt. 12 40 = Lk. 11 30). The "sign of the Son of Man" seems to have been a conception of current Jewish apocalypse. Whether connected with this expectation or not the present demand was met in various ways in early Christian apologetic (cf. Mt. 21 23-32 and parallels, Jn. 2 18-22; 6 30 ff.). The Q context which denounces the "evil and adulterous generation" that seeks this "sign" (Mt. 12 38-42 = Lk. 11 29-32), makes it probable that the discourse in its original form referred to a double insensibility. The evil generation had been deaf to a two-fold appeal. God had sent the Baptist like a second Elijah, warning of judgment to come and summoning to repentance, but in vain. The Ninevites at the threat of Jonah "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed" had repented in sackcloth and ashes. But the Pharisees and scribes, though they saw all the people and the publicans baptized with the baptism of John, did not even repent themselves afterwards, at this evidence of divine forbearance (Mt. 21 31 f. = Lk. 7 29 f.). Therefore in the day of judgment the Ninevites would put them

to shame. This, however, was but the first count in the indictment. The scribes had further sinned against the Spirit when, witnessing the "glad tidings" of mercy and forgiveness proclaimed by Jesus and corroborated by "the Spirit of God" visibly expelling the powers of darkness, they had objected, "He casteth out by Beelzebub". The gentle voice of mercy and tenderness, wooing the erring to return in this "glad tidings to the poor", was the very voice of "the Wisdom of God", whose loving condescension in going forth to seek and to save the lost is justified by her children. This is a greater 'wisdom' than Solomon's. Therefore the Queen of the South, who came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon would in the day of judgment put to shame those who had despised it. God has sent "prophets and wise men", but Israel has rejected both. In this double condemnation it cannot be "the Son of Man" who was originally set in parallelism with Jonah as the proclaimer of judgment to come. It can only have been (as elsewhere in Jesus' replies to the demand for a sign) John the Baptist, the forerunner of the judgment day, turning Israel to repentance "in the spirit and power of Elijah". Solomon, not Jonah, stands in parallelism with Jesus. We therefore owe the introduction of the title "the Son of Man" in Mt. 12 40 = Lk. 11 30 to a misunderstanding. The author of the Source in the form in which it lay before Matthew and Luke, certainly a Greek document, though probably translated from an Aramaic original, has endeavored to adjust the saying from a form like that of Mt. 16 4 or Mk. 8 12, where no mention is made of "the Son of Man", to a form consistent with his own idea of "the sign of the Son of Man". Even so Matthew and Luke take different views of the meaning.

(4) The last of the four occurrences of the title in Q is in the context already brought into connection with the preceding. In the discourse just described as a denunciation of the "evil and adulterous generation" which had rejected both forms of the divine appeal, warning of judgment or assurance of forgiveness, Jesus calls it a "blasphemy of the Spirit" to ascribe his works of beneficence to collusion with Beelzebub, because the power is not his own, but "the Spirit of God". Were they

speaking against him as a mere son of man (that is, a man like other men) this would be pardonable. But the sin of the scribes cannot be forgiven, because this is the last and Great Repentance, and they have used their power as holders of the key of knowledge to hinder those who were just entering the kingdom. They cannot frustrate the work of God, but they do cut themselves off from all part in the coming redemption. In this case we have perhaps a historical use of the generic term "a son of man"; but the context itself makes clear the fact that no title is intended. The term has simply its ordinary sense, a human being, a mere mortal, as opposed to "the Spirit of God".

The result of this individual study of the eight occurrences of the title Son of Man in Q is quite striking. Four, which all belong to the same type, that is, objective warnings of the Day, or the sudden Coming, of the heavenly Judge, we have no reason to question; for they go no further than the utterances of the Baptist, save that they bring "the Coming one" of whom John speaks into relation with the figure of Dan. 7 13 and later apocalyptic writers, by use of the special term "the Son of Man". The other four occurrences are of different types. All are subject to the historical objection that they could not have been employed as represented in the Source without provoking opposition such as does not appear to have been actually raised until the last days of the ministry, when Jesus faced it and suffered the consequences. Individually they show that they do not fit the contexts in which they occur. On the contrary they can be easily accounted for as extensions of the actual usage of Jesus in accordance with the prepossessions of the evangelist.

In passing to the fourteen occurrences of Mark we must be prepared to find on the one hand a certain proportion of authentic instances (whether from oral tradition or written sources, including among the latter some form of the Second Source), and on the other hand an extension due to the evangelist himself, in the same line as that already observed in Q. For if the example were once set, whether in Q or elsewhere, there would be every reason to expect later evangelists to follow

it, seeing all were thoroughly imbued with the idea that Jesus, even in the days of his flesh, had all the attributes of the heavenly dispenser of divine justice. It is of course no more than a coincidence, but certainly a significant coincidence, that again in Mark one-half the total number of occurrences, or seven in all, belong to a single group or type, for which we have every reason to posit some authentic and historical utterance, whereas the other half give evidence in various ways of being due to extensions on the part of the evangelist of earlier usage.

The seven occurrences characteristic of Mark are all distinguished by their common reference to the Betrayal, and are usually couched in the Isaian terminology employed by Paul (Rom. 4 25; 8 32), which speaks of the Servant as "delivered up" (*παρεδόθη*; not *προεδόθη*, as would be appropriate for betrayal). The prediction is first made in Mk. 8 31 = Lk. 9 22, in this single instance the language (*ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι*) reflecting Ps. 118 22 rather than Is. 53 6 LXX. (*κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν*). It is repeated in Mk. 9 31 and 10 33, referred to as a prophecy of Scripture in 9 12 and 14 21a, and as fulfilled by Judas in 14 21b and 14 41f. In all these cases, as also in 3 19 and 14 18, where the betrayal is spoken of without the title Son of Man, the verb employed is the Isaian *παραδίδοσθαι*. It seems reasonable to infer that the prediction is derived from some source in which Jesus' career was brought into parallelism with the work and fate of the Isaian 'Servant of Jehovah'; for in Mark itself no such parallel is attempted, though it can be traced in certain elements of the underlying material and is a distinctive theme of Luke. Whatever the source, it is not permissible to set aside such a series of occurrences as having no historical foundation. There is the less occasion for such radical scepticism from the fact that every one of the seven employments is represented as occurring in discourse addressed privately to the Twelve, and either at the revelation of Caesarea Philippi or later. It can at least be set down as one of the characteristics of Markan usage that wherever this evangelist has occasion to place in Jesus' mouth a reference to his anticipated fate he prefers to introduce the title "Son of Man" along with phraseology which recalls the classic passage of Is. 53 6 LXX.

Of the remaining seven Markan occurrences three merely reproduce in substance an utterance which we have already had occasion to consider in studying the usage of Q, and have pronounced beyond reasonable objection on the score of authenticity. In Mk. 13 26 we have the same impersonal, objective assurance of the Coming of the Son of Man in the conventional terms of current apocalypse as in the Q eschatology of Lk. 17 20–37 and parallels. The same prediction is made in similar terms in Mk. 8 38 and 14 62. To the evangelist Mark these are of course so many "self-designations of Jesus". But inherently they carry no such implication. As to their probable basis of fact we must enquire later.

There remain four occurrences of the title in Mark which we have good reason to regard as due to the evangelist himself for reasons which would naturally commend themselves from his point of view.

In Mk. 1 40—3 6 we have a section which corresponds in general bearing with the Q discourse already described, that is, the discourse à propos of the coming of the messengers from John to ask "Art thou He that should come?", when Jesus rebukes the Pharisees and scribes for their captious objections to his message of mercy and his genial mode of life. In Mark as in Q Jesus vindicates both his message of "glad tidings to the poor", and his freedom from the fasts and Sabbaths of Mosaism by appeal to his mighty works. The chief difference is that whereas in Q "the works of the Christ" are appealed to as evidences of the present operation of the divine Spirit, a proof that the power of the "strong man armed" is broken, in Mark Jesus is himself the Stronger one. He proves his own power by miracle, and thus defends his own superhuman authority. He pronounces sins forgiven, not as in Lk. 7 36–50 because he sees the effects of the divine Spirit on the penitent, but because as "Son of Man" he is himself endowed with this authority even while still "on earth". Finally he substantiates it by a word of power (Mk. 2 5–10). Similarly his disregard of fasts and Sabbaths is sustained by the bald declaration that "he is the Son of Man" (Mk. 2 28; verse 27, wanting in Daceffit and Matthew and Luke, is not part of the authentic text). As

we have seen, Q also, in two instances, both unhistorical, uses the title Son of Man in the discourse on John as Elias. But Mark has carried this extension further. The representation is not only incompatible with Jesus' reserve on the question of his personality, but is almost diametrically opposed to his authentic teaching as regards appeal to "signs". It is certainly in Q rather than in Mark that we get the real appeal of Jesus to the "mighty works". To Jesus these were not proofs of his personal authority as Son of Man on earth, but evidences of the present working of "the Spirit of God" which confirmed the "glad tidings". In Q "the works of the Christ" are those of the Isaian Servant. He does them in fulfilment of the calling Is. 42 1-4.

In Mk. 9 9, the command of secrecy until after the resurrection, and 10 45, a contrast of the self-abasement of the Servant as against the self-seeking of the Twelve, the context would naturally suggest to an evangelist imbued with the idea that Jesus used this title as a "self-designation" that it was more appropriate than the simple personal pronoun. In Mt. 11 19 = Lk. 7 34 and Lk. 19 10 we have examples of the schematic employment exhibited in Mk. 10 45. These examples themselves may have lain before the eyes of Mark in the Second Source.

We must therefore pass the same verdict on the usage of our second evangelist as on that of his predecessor. Half his employments of the title go back to an authentic utterance of Jesus, the nature of which is still to be studied. Of the remainder three represent an authentic utterance already represented in Q, four seem to be extensions of earlier use on the evangelist's own responsibility.

In considering the "single tradition" of Matthew and Luke respectively we must of course anticipate the same sort of phenomena as hitherto. Each evangelist has doubtless a certain amount of Second Source material which escapes classification under the symbol Q merely because one of our two witnesses omitted it, whether through preference of a Markan parallel or merely because it seemed unsuited to his purpose. Such source-material must be brought if possible into relation with utterances of the same type already considered, but must above

all be sharply distinguished from material which shows the evangelist's own usage, if such there be.

In the case of Luke we may acknowledge at once our inability to detect any distinctive usage of the evangelist's own. There are eight occurrences of the title in Luke where the parallels do not record it and one in which Luke has the support of Mark but not of Matthew, who in this case uses the personal pronoun. This last is simply the prediction of Mk. 8 31 = Lk. 9 22, "The Son of Man must suffer many things and be rejected". Here the Matthean parallel, Mt. 16 21 makes a new beginning: "From that time Jesus began to show to his disciples that he must suffer", etc. After having begun in this way had Matthew written "the Son of Man must suffer" it would have seemed to imply a distinction between "Jesus" and "the Son of Man". Instead of this he recasts Mk. 8 38 (= Q Mt. 10 32 f. = Lk. 12 8 f.) in a way to remove all ambiguity: "For the Son of Man is about to come in the glory of his Father", etc. The omission is therefore probably intentional. At all events the title stood originally in Mark. Luke did not interject it. The eight instances, however, in which Luke stands alone are equally far from showing any disposition on this evangelist's part to introduce employments of the title on his own account, in the interest of a conception of his own. Once (Lk. 6 22) he speaks of obloquy endured "for the Son of Man's sake" where the Matthean parallel (Mt. 5 11) is probably truer to the source (Q) in writing "for my sake". Wellhausen suspects a translation error "*men* will cast upon you an evil name". More probably the change is a stylistic improvement of Luke. The obloquy was endured because of the disciples' faith in Jesus as "the Son of Man" (cf. Hegesippus ap. Eusebius, *H. E.* II, xxiii. 13). We may suspect a similar stylistic improvement in the promise of Jesus to acknowledge before the heavenly Judge those who have acknowledged him before earthly judges (Lk. 12 8 = Mt. 10 32). The Matthean parallel has simply the personal pronoun "I will confess", where Luke writes "The Son of Man will confess". In both these cases, it is true, the substitution could be ascribed to the precanonical evangelist, though in that case we should expect to find it in Matthew as well as Luke. In any case

the original meaning of the saying seems to ascribe to Jesus the function of witness, rather than judge, at the heavenly tribunal. "I will confess" is therefore more likely to be original, especially as the tendency of Matthew is to multiply occurrences.

A further group of three occurrences in the Lukan 'single tradition' (Lk. 17 22, Desire for "one of the days of the Son of Man"; 18 8, "If the Son of Man came would he find the faith on the earth?", and 21 36, "Watch, so as to stand before the Son of Man") belong to the class already described as characteristic of a part of the Q material, and as probably reflecting an actual usage of Jesus. They are mere general, impersonal, references to the Day, or the Coming, of the Son of Man, the expected agent of divine retribution. "One of the days of the Son of Man" in Lk. 17 22 is shown by the context to be probably a mistranslation for "the Day of the Son of Man", which is the object of longing as usually represented in the Source. Lk. 18 8 should be rendered as above. The meaning is: An immediate coming to judgement would give no opportunity for the proclamation of the Gospel, which must, according to the accepted view (Mk. 13 10; Acts 1 6–8), precede the consummation. Lk. 21 36 merely summarises editorially Mk. 13 33–37. The evangelist uses the title in a perfectly appropriate way in referring to the Coming. These three occurrences, accordingly, display no distinctive conception introduced by Luke. They merely show his acceptance of the idea of Q that Jesus employed the conventional term as a self-designation in the current sense, viz, the Agent of divine retribution.

Two occurrences in what would appear to be the Lukan 'single tradition' really represent in slightly different location the Marcan references to the Betrayal of "the Son of Man" already spoken of. Thus Lk. 22 48, "Betrayest thou (παραδίδως) the Son of Man with a kiss?", is simply repeated from Lk. 22 22 and is the true equivalent, so far as source is concerned, of Mk. 14 21 = Mt. 26 24. Again Lk. 24 7 is the reminder from the two angels at the tomb, of Jesus' prediction "when he was yet in Galilee, how that the Son of Man must be delivered up (παραδοθῆναι) into the hands of sinful men"; in other words it simply repeats Mk. 9 31 = Mt. 17 22 = Lk. 21 27. These two

occurrences may possibly strengthen somewhat the claim of this Marcan use to rest upon pre-Marcan tradition. They certainly confirm the evidence of Lk. 6 22 and 12 8 to a slight tendency on the part of our third evangelist to introduce the title for stylistic reasons, though he makes no change in the sense it bears in his sources. But they furnish no new instance for the usage of Jesus. They merely add to the evidence of the previously noted Marcan occurrences which show a certain disposition to use the title "the Son of Man" in connection with the prediction of Jesus that he would be "delivered up" (*παραδοθήσεται*).

Finally we have one occurrence in the Lukan 'single tradition' of what we have called the schematic use illustrated in the Q material by the summary: "The Son of Man came eating and drinking" (Mt. 11 19 = Lk. 7 34), and in Mark by the summary: "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister" (Mk. 10 45 = Mt. 20 28). The declaration of Lk. 19 10 "The Son of Man came to seek and to save the lost" has precisely the same schematic character as the Q utterance. Unfortunately we have no more means of proving derivation from the Second Source in the case of Lk. 19 10 than in the case of Mk. 10 45. Both might be due to this Source, but in neither case have we the means of proving it; because our means of identification disappears in the case of what Mark has drawn from it, just as it does in the case where Luke has drawn from it without the coincident support of Matthew and non-support of Mark. If the story of Zacchaeus (Lk. 19 1-10), which winds up with the formula "the Son of Man came", be attributed to the Second Source (to which the present writer sees no insuperable objection) it must be by other reasoning than the usual application of the mechanical formula: Mt+Lk−Mk−single-tradition = Q.

Thus the eight occurrences of the title in the 'single tradition' of Luke furnish no single instance of employment in any other mode or connection than those already illustrated in the usage of Q and Mark. Some corroboration of the evidence of these earlier sources is furnished by them. They also show a slight tendency to increase the number of instances by stylistic

extension on the part of the evangelist. But for reliable evidence as to the actual usage of Jesus we must fall back upon Q and Mark; and even in these oldest sources we must distinguish between the usage representing authentic tradition, and the usage of the particular writer.

Lastly we have to consider the nine occurrences in the 'single-tradition' material of Matthew. One of these, the insertion of the title in the question of Mk. 8 27, "Who do men say that I am?" to make the impossible form of Mt. 16 13: "Who do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" (corrected in some texts to "that the Son of Man is", in Syr. Sin. to "What do men say concerning me that I am, saying, Who is this Son of Man?") is a clear case of editorial addition. Two other passages make similar extension of the Marcan use. Mt. 16 28 = Mk. 9 1 repeats the expression from the preceding verse (Mt. 16 27 = Mk. 8 38) transforming the Marcan phrase "till they see the kingdom of God come with power" into "till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom". Similarly Mt. 26 2 interjects it in the parallel to Mk. 14 1, by anticipation of 26 24 f. = Mk. 14 21. In these two cases we have again quite certainly editorial extensions. The three together show the usual disposition to multiply instances, but the last two have slight bearing on the problem of the usage of Jesus, because we already have evidence for both types of employment. We know that Mark systematically uses this phraseology with reference to the Betrayal. We also know that Jesus did employ the term with reference to the Day of Jehovah, the Coming of his agent for the 'restoration of all things' (ἀποκατάστασις πάντων). Similar considerations apply in two other occurrences of the Matthean 'single-tradition'. (1) Mt. 24 30, where in transcribing Mk. 13 25 f. our evangelist interjects (after the prediction of wonders in the heavens introducing the promise "Then shall they see the Son of Man coming with clouds") the supplement "And then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven". This is clearly Matthew's own addition, showing his idea of the 'sign of the Son of Man'. Still employment of the term in such an objective, impersonal way would not conflict with what we have seen must have been true of the usage of Jesus. There is also (2) a reference to

the Coming of the Son of Man in the same impersonal, objective way in Mt. 10 23, where the disciples are assured that there will be no need to flee to foreign cities because "the cities of Israel" will afford them refuge "till the Son of Man be come". These two instances of Matthean 'single-tradition' are probably the evangelist's own. But they do not conflict with the acknowledged usage of Jesus.

From these five instances out of the nine of Matthean 'single tradition' very little is to be gained beyond a minimal corroboration of points already established. It does appear, however, that our first evangelist has a decided propensity for the term, even going so far in Mt. 26 2 as to transform the mere note of time of Mk. 14 1 into a prophecy placed in the mouth of Jesus which embodies the mysterious "self-designation". This propensity is further exemplified in Matthew's transcription of Mk. 8 38 = Mt. 16 27. To Mark's reference to the Coming of the Son of Man "in the glory of his Father with the holy angels" Matthew makes the supplement based on Ps. 62 13 (cf. *Enoch* lxiii. 9): "And then shall he render unto every man according to his work". When we pass to the remaining four occurrences of the title in Matthean 'single tradition' it will be seen how typically this addition represents the Matthean conception of Jesus as "the Son of Man".

This final group of distinctively Matthean occurrences is instructive. Not because it has any claim to represent the usage of Jesus, for in every case the material of the context can be shown by the stereotyped phraseology no less than the highly characteristic motive to be the handiwork of the evangelist himself. But the smaller its claims to historicity the more instructive as to redactional usage. This group of utterances placed by 'Matthew' in the mouth of Jesus is typical of the gradual building up of the impressive total on which a large part of insufficiently critical inference has been based. When analyzed as to the respective proportion of authentic tradition and redactional usage these eighty-one occurrences of the "self-designation" make a different impression. Lukan usage merely repeats that of Q. Matthean usage is characteristic in the highest degree of the special interests of the Palestinian Gospel

of neo-legalism. This evangelist imports into the usage of Jesus the apocalyptic sense of the term in *Enoch*, with special predilection for the apparatus of the "throne of glory" (this element appears in every one of the four), and the pronouncing of the eternal verdict from the heavenly judgment seat. Matthew emphasizes to the utmost the rewards of eternal blessedness in the kingdom prepared for the righteous from the foundation of the world, and the punishments of eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels which are to be the lot particularly of the teachers and workers of "lawlessness". Matthean usage is therefore a very definite fact, and one which merits comparison with the special nature of the compilation as a whole.

The so-called Gospel according to Matthew has specially in view the "teaching all men everywhere to obey all things whatsoever Jesus had commanded" (Mt. 28 20). Its general structure is like that of the Torah, five bodies of precept, each closing with a special formula (Mt. 7 28; 11 1; 13 53; 19 1 and 26 1) and prefaced by a narrative setting. These are drawn in most cases principally from Mark, though in the case of the third (11 2—12 45) principally from the Second Source. A prologue (1 1—2 23) and an epilogue (26 1—28 20) form an external historical framework. This general structure of Matthew justifies the designation 'Gospel of neo-legalism'. But in addition every one of its five bodies of teaching closes with a more or less direct forecast of the judgment of the Son of Man, with its reward for the righteous and penalties of eternal torment for the wicked. The fullest and most typical of these is that which brings the entire public ministry to a vivid close with the parable (recognized by even so conservative an interpreter as W. C. Allen in the *International Critical Commentary*, as the handiwork of the evangelist himself) of "the Son of Man" sitting upon "the throne of his glory" and administering the divine justice upon "all nations" according to their works, "as a shepherd divideth the sheep from the goats" (Mt. 25 31-46).

(1) A similar picture, warning of the fate of the "false prophets" (known by their lack of "good fruits" and destined to be "hewn down and cast into the fire") is prefixed to the closing parable of the first discourse (Mt. 7 13-23), the Lukan

parallel (Lk. 6 43-45; 13 23-27) showing that Matthew is here combining two Q discourses into a special warning against the teachers of "lawlessness". The specific title "Son of Man" does not here occur, but the description by which Jesus is made to speak of himself as sitting on the heavenly judgment seat is identical with that used elsewhere.

(2) The brief promise of reward in heaven which closes the Charge to the Twelve in Mt. 10 40-42 also lacks specific mention of "the Son of Man", but corresponds for substance with the fuller promise of the final parable (25 31-46).

(3) The Teaching in Parables (Mt. 13 1-52) expands the corresponding Marcan discourse (Mk. 4 1-34) by the addition of a group of three brief parables all concerned with heavenly reward. These are: Treasure-trove (13 44), The Pearl of great Price (13 45f.), and The Sorting of the Fish (13 47-50). The picture painted in this seventh and closing parable should be compared with that of the final judgment at the end of the fifth and closing discourse (13 49f.; cf. 41-43; 22 13; 25 30, 41 and Lk. 13 28f.):

> So shall it be in the end of the world; the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the righteous, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth.

Besides this expansion by additions to the Marcan group at its close and one (the Leaven, 13 33) which the Lukan parallel (Lk. 13 20f.) suggests was a companion parable in Q to that of the Mustard-seed, the total being thus raised to seven, Matthew has a great expansion of the parable of the Patient Husbandman (Mk. 4 26-29), transforming it into The Wheat and the Tares (Mt. 13 24-30), a companion-piece to The Good and Bad Fish and The Sheep and the Goats. Besides the parable itself a long and detailed Interpretation of the Parable (13 36-43) is also added in 'Matthew's' characteristic phraseology, ending:

> As therefore the tares are gathered up and burned with fire; so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that cause stumbling and them that do

lawlessness, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.

(4) The discourse on Church-administration (Mt. 18) ends with the parable of the Unforgiving Debtor, whose "lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due". The application is: "So shall also my heavenly Father do unto you, if ye forgive not every one his brother from your hearts" (cf. the supplement Mt. 6 14f.).

(5) The final discourse, three chapters in length (Mt. 23—25), is all concerned with eschatology, and supplements Q material, urging prompt repentance in view of the coming judgment (25 1-13; cf. Lk. 13 25; Mk. 13 35-37 and 25 14-20 = Lk. 19 12-25). It closes with the sublime picture of the Son of Man sitting on the heavenly judgment seat and pronouncing sentence on all nations (25 31-46) to which reference has already been made. With these five endings of the 'Sermons' of Matthew should be compared his supplements to the Q parables of the Great Supper (Mt. 22 1-14 = Lk. 14 16-24) and the Talents (Mt. 25 14-30 = Lk. 19 12-27). No doubt will remain as to Matthean 'tendency'. Comparison of the phraseology of the three most peculiarly Matthean of the four (Mt. 13 37, 41 and 25 31) will explain the variation from Lukan phraseology in the case of the fourth (Mt. 19 28 = Lk. 22 29f.). In this case the Second Source spoke of "thrones of judgment", but not of "the Son of Man".

This survey of the 'single-tradition' material of Matthew in which his four individual employments of the title Son of Man are found, always in connection with mention of the "throne of glory" and usually of the "angels" who execute the sentence, should be conclusive as to the distinctive usage of this evangelist. They manifestly represent an extension of the evangelist's own in the direction already evidenced in Q. According to 'Matthew' Jesus in his public utterances, and from the very outset, spoke of himself freely as the agent of the divine judgment of mankind. He not only referred objectively to the Day of the Son of Man, the Coming of the Son of Man, and the like, but used the

title as a "self-designation" about which there was no mystery whatever. In his opening discourse he said in so many words (Mt. 7 22):

> Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy by thy name, and by thy name cast out demons, and by thy name do many mighty works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you; depart from me, ye that work lawlessness.

This is not merely an explicit reversal of the principle enunciated in Mk. 9 38-40, it not merely denies the toleration expressed by Mark for the professed Christian teacher and wonder-worker unless he be sound on the issue of "lawlessness" vs. "good works", but is itself embodied in a manifest editorial recast of the Q material of Lk. 13 26f. Matthew applies the Q saying to the case of Christian "false prophets" whose pretensions are based on professions of loyalty and gifts of the Spirit, but who have not the indispensable guarantee of good works. In the original form (Lk. 13 23-30) it was addressed to those who count on admission to the messianic kingdom because of a mere outward association or racial connection with the "Master of the house" (who in the parable exercises the functions of the Son of Man; cf. Mt. 25 11f. with Lk. 13 25). The Q phrases "weeping and gnashing of teeth", "cast forth without" are appropriate to this connection. Matthew has stereotyped them into a regular refrain. In reality they carry out the sense of the answer, "I know you not whence ye are". The Q original is equivalent to the Baptist's warning not to begin to say "We are Abraham's seed" (Mt. 3 9 = Lk. 3 8). The meaning is "If you work iniquity (ἀδικία) it makes no difference whether you are from Jerusalem, and descendants of the Patriarchs, or from the ends of the earth". Again we have a clear instance of editorial recasting of Q by 'Matthew', showing his special antipathy and exhibiting in its true colors his idea of how Jesus used the conception (and consequently the title as well) of "the Son of Man". It shows us little of the actual usage of Jesus, but much of the presuppositions which led to a gradual extension of the term into Gospel usage in the later period of Synoptic tradition.

Our survey of all the occurrences of the title Son of Man in Synoptic tradition is now complete. All may be classified in a small number of groups according as they represent actual tradition, or extensions of the transmitted usage in accordance with certain definable prepossessions of the particular writer. The 'single tradition' of 'Matthew' exhibits a very marked extension on the part of this particular evangelist. 'Luke' merely adds slightly to the number of occurrences by occasional stylistic employments. Mark and the Second Source alone offer employments from which some fairly reliable inferences may be drawn as to the real usage of Jesus. In each case we have one mode of employment which may be regarded as belonging to the tradition rather than to the writer himself because it occurs with such frequency, is supported by the testimony of other writers, and is not attributable to any particular idiosyncracy of the writer.

(1) In the Q material as well as in all later and dependent tradition (including Mark) we find evidence which it would require arguments more cogent than any known to the present writer to set aside, that Jesus made use of current expressions such as the Day, or the Coming, of the Son of Man, with reference to the agent of divine retribution predicted by John the Baptist in the phraseology "He that cometh after me to purge his threshing floor", or more briefly "He that should come". But this alone will hardly account for the difference between the usage ascribed by the sources to John and that ascribed to Jesus, who alone is represented as using the title "Son of Man". Possibly the writer of the Second Source might be held responsible for this identification of the figure of Dan. 7 13 with the Baptist's 'Coming one'. But this supposition seems unnecessarily violent in view of the possibility made so apparent by Dalman that *Bar nasha* could have been used, even if it had not yet come to be widely used, in the sense: "the heavenly champion of Israel predicted by Daniel". At least the testimony of the Gospel sources beginning with Q is very strong that Jesus himself habitually referred to this 'Coming one' as "the Son of Man". But they also indicate "plainly enough" that he "avoided any messianic self-designation". The references are

impersonal and objective. They carry in substance the message: "Be ye ready for the Coming of the Son of Man; for the time of judgment and the visitation of Israel is near, of which John gave warning in the spirit and power of Elijah". It seems more reasonable, therefore, to ascribe this identification of the Coming one of the Baptist (the Angel of the Covenant of Ex. 23 20f. and Mal. 3 1—4 1) with the Son of Man of Dan. 7 13 to no other than Jesus himself.

(2) The usage of Mark has also a typical employment of the title Son of Man which gives evidence of being traditional rather than the outgrowth of the evangelist's own prepossessions. The fact that Mark alone has no fewer than seven instances of prediction by Jesus of his betrayal, in all of which he uses the title "Son of Man", six times out of the seven in conjunction with the Isaian and Pauline term παραδοθῆναι, while the single tradition of Matthew and Luke adds three further instances, strongly suggests an actual utterance of Jesus predicting this betrayal. Whether the connection of it with the fate of the suffering Servant of Is. 53 6 LXX as in I Cor. 15 3; Rom. 4 25 and elsewhere is due to Jesus himself, rather than to the earliest believers, seems much more doubtful. The evidence of Marcan usage (together with the extensions in Mt. 26 2 and Lk. 22 48 and 24 7) makes it highly probable that at a very early date (though probably later than Paul) the association became habitual. Consequently when the "delivering up" was spoken of the term naturally employed in conjunction with it would be "the Son of Man".

The characterization of this special usage as "Marcan" over against that of Q does not by any means imply that it was absent from the Second Source. On the contrary it may very well be derived by Mark from the Second Source, though in that case it would not appear in Q, because the definition of Q is "coincident material of Matthew and Luke *not contained in Mark*". The consecutive story of Mark does however, fortunately, enable us to bring the utterance into connection with a definite and specific occasion. It was when Jesus set his face at Caesarea Philippi to go up to Jerusalem, braving a probable martyrdom, that he began to predict this "delivering up", though the earlier

references speak not of Judas, but of the Jewish authorities as those who will "deliver up the Son of Man". It is only in "that same night in which he was delivered up" (παρεδίδοτο, I Cor. 11 23) that one of the Twelve is named as the agent.

The curious thing about this usage, which habitually associates the term "Son of Man" with references to the "delivering up", is that Son of Man is almost the last expression we should expect to be so used. The title to be expected in the Marcan group of references is "the Servant", a title which we only know from a few passages in the Petrine speeches of Acts (2 13, 26; 4 27, 30) and half a dozen occurrences in patristic writings from 95 to 195 A. D., *particularly in passages relating to the sacrament, or the sacrificial death of Jesus.* It must therefore have once had a certain currency; but this it subsequently lost, the form "Thy elect (or "beloved") Servant" becoming "The elect (or "beloved") Son". In Isaiah it is the 'Servant' who is "delivered up". The 'Son of Man' is not an Isaian term, and the use of it which we have found to be most surely attributable to Jesus is as remote as possible from those connected with the "delivering up". Is there any way in which this paradoxical Marcan use can be accounted for?

The ordinary reply to this question pleads the value of paradox itself. Jesus is supposed to have aimed at this very contrast. The heavenly Champion of Israel who obtains their vindication and eternal dominion over wicked oppressors is the very same as he whom they rejected and delivered up. The plea would be cogent if applied to those who looked back from after the resurrection; but for Jesus it was first of all imperative to teach the doctrine of the Servant. The Synoptic writers might well effect in their minds this combination; but it does not seem to represent very well the mind of Jesus. The attitude of Jesus toward his own fate is surely that of the Servant, obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. He goes to meet it not as one who understands, and confidently treads the path to victory, but as one who in faith accepts the cup extended by the Father, trusting though he slay him. It does appear, however, and that not by the testimony of Mark alone, but by the coincident testimony of Q, of Mark,

and of one of the "faithful sayings" of the primitive Church (II Tim. 2 11-13) that in connection with this same prediction of "delivering up" Jesus also gave assurance of vindication for his cause, and for all who maintained their loyalty to it in spite of "trials". This vindication would be *in the Day of the Son of Man.*

For the promise of this ultimate divine vindication is historically indissociable from the prediction of the "delivering up". Even if Mark had not so explicitly made the connection in 8 34—9 1 we should have been obliged to infer something of the kind in order to account for the facts of the later story. The "faithful saying" of II Tim. 2 11-13 parallels Lk. 22 28-30, suggesting the farewell Supper as the true historical occasion. In Mk. 8 38 it is made part of the warning of the cross. But here the Roman evangelist shows clearly his use of a tradition coincident with the Second Source if not of the Second Source itself. The same promise is not only repeated by the later Synoptists in transcribing Mark (Mk. 8 38 = Mt. 16 27 = Lk. 9 44) but independently in Mt. 10 32f. = Lk. 12 8f. This Q form of the promise which Mark brings into direct connection with the prediction of the "delivering up" (thus as it were marking the beginnings of the equivalence "The Servant = the Son of Man") has so much to do with the origins of Marcan usage that we may take the liberty of placing the Matthean and Lukan forms in parallel columns:

Mt. 10 32f.	Lk. 12 8f.
Whosoever then shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father who is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven.	Everyone who shall confess me before men, the Son of Man will also confess him before the angels of God. But he who has denied me before men shall be denied before the angels of God.

Here the reference is manifestly to the scene of Dan. 7 13. Our two witnesses differ as to whether the Second Source used the title Son of Man or not. To both of them that is a matter of indifference because in their view "the Son of Man" was a

"favorite self-designation of Jesus". Matthew's complete recast of Mk. 8 38—9 1 (= Mt. 16 27f.) shows clearly enough his idea of the promise. Jesus himself sitting on the throne of glory will render the verdict, as depicted in the parables (see above, p. 170). In Luke this is quite uncertain. The idea may be only "I will witness at God's judgment seat, for those who have witnessed for me in the face of earthly judges"; but as regards the extent of Jesus' use (not the content) Luke takes the same ground as Matthew and Mark. All three probably represent in this the usage of the Second Source. But why should the Second Source introduce the term if it was not in reality characteristic of Jesus? Two phenomena, typical respectively of the Q usage and that of Mark, are worthy of our attention at this point, and may throw some light upon the question.

1. We have already called attention to the distinction to be drawn between a group of occurrences in Q which appear to represent authentic tradition, and others which we have good reason to believe are extensions due to a preconception of the precanonical evangelist. Jesus probably referred to the divine judgment of which the Baptist had forewarned as "the Day of the Son of Man". He probably did not draw the comparison between his own mode of life and that of the herald of judgment in the form: "John came ... the Son of Man came". In this respect the report of Q is probably misleading; for, as Harnack puts it, he had just before, in the same discourse "plainly enough avoided any messianic self-designation". The Source is therefore to some extent at odds with itself. What can account for this inner discrepancy?

The great Q discourse Mt. 11 2—12 45, when compared with its Lukan parallels shows as its principal motive condemnation of the Jewish leaders for their rejection of "the Christ" in spite of the correspondence of his ministry *with that foretold in Isaiah of the rejected and suffering Servant of Jehovah.* This is the point of the "avoidance of any messianic self-designation" in Jesus' reply to the question of John, who is told in substance to observe how the Isaian prophecy of the "consolation of Israel" is being fulfilled, and not to be stumbled if he sees no

sign of the Coming one he himself had predicted (Mt. 11 2-6; cf. Is. 35 3-6; 26 14 (the heathen say: "they are dead, they shall not live"), 19; 61 1f.). But the answer to John serves as a mere introduction to the main discourse, which takes up again the question of "the works of the Christ". And what they signify with reference to his own mission and personality. John had been near to "stumbling" because the works of the Servant were *not* what he had looked for in the Coming one. The actual "stumbling" of the scribes and Pharisees at this same work of blessing and grace among "the poor" is for Q the fulfilment of the divine "decree" (εὐδοκία) to hide these things from the wise and prudent and reveal them unto babes (Mt. 11 25-27 = Lk. 10 21f.; cf. Is. 29 9-14). For Q Jesus incarnates that "Wisdom of God" who is justified by her children, the "babes", or "little ones" of Is. 29 23f. (Mt. 11 19ff. = Lk. 7 34ff.). This is the Son who makes known the Father. His career is summed up by "Isaiah the prophet" when he gave his description of "the Servant whom I have chosen; the Beloved on whom I fixed my choice" (Mt. 12 17-21; cf. Mk. 1 2-4, 10f. and parallels). Such is the fundamental Christology of the Second Source. Its Christ is the Servant-Son of Dt.-Isaiah and Wisdom of Solomon.

The Q fragments come in different order in Matthew and Luke, and there are sections probably belonging to Q which only one of the two has embodied, but in whatever order restored, and however fragmentarily, it is manifest that the conception of "the Son" which to the author's mind corresponds with the real ministry of Jesus is that of the Isaian Servant. This is the great truth which the Baptist is encouraged to see, while Pharisees and Scribes remain wilfully blind to it. Jesus may, or may not be the Coming one whom John has looked for. He *is* the Servant-Son. The unhistorical use of "Son of Man" in Q, representing an extension on the redactor's part of the authentic, reflects the paradox above referred to. The writer thinks that Jesus could have said to the crowd "I decline to admit that I am the Coming one of John; however I freely acknowledge that I am the Son of Man". His own material reverses this. It implies that Jesus would have said: "You can see for yourselves if you do not resist the witness

of the Spirit, that my works are the works of the Servant. If that be your 'Coming one' be it so.

2. Curiously enough the same impression is made by the typical usage of Mark. It is the title "the Servant" which would be appropriate in all the instances which refer to the "delivering up". "Son of Man" offers an unexplained paradox. True we have the latter title in its proper sense where Jesus answers the challenge of the high priest to say whether he is "the Christ, the Son of the Blessed": "I am: and ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven". But the story of the Trial before the Sanhedrin (Mk. 14 55-64) belongs to those elements of the second Gospel which are most obviously redactional. The parallel in 15 1-5 is more historical. This occurrence should therefore be classed with Mk. 2 10 and 28 as one of the extensions of the evangelist. Only, no new content is imported into the title. In Mk. 14 62 as in 13 26 the evangelist merely reproduces the authentic use of Q (Mt. 24 37 ff. = Lk. 17 26 ff.).

But we have already seen reason to believe that the group of occurrences in Mark which speak of the "delivering up" of the Son of Man represent some older tradition. Just as in Mk. 1 11 and parallels "Son" is clearly substituted for "Servant" (cf. Mt. 12 18) so in this extensive group "Son of Man" seems to be used as in Q to mean the one who is now the Servant but will soon be manifested as the Coming one predicted by John. Now Mark shows little interest in the Isaian prophecy. It is only Luke who dwells upon the correspondence between the fate of Jesus and the predictions of Is. 53. It is therefore less probably our Mark than some source common to Mark and Luke which underlies the predictions of martyrdom in Mk. 8 31; 9 31; 10 33, the schematic statement in 10 45 with its counterpart in 14 24, and the references to prophecy in 9 12 (a doubtful passage) and 14 21. In the last named verses it is peculiarly infelicitous to use "the Son of Man" in referring to predictions which speak of the Servant, while no such prediction is anywhere made of "the Son of Man". Should not this peculiar use in Mark of the one title where we should most expect the other be placed alongside of the similar phenomenon in Q?

The typical Marcan usage just referred to appears to rest on earlier authority; but does it go back to Jesus himself? The fact that Paul refers to the prediction of Isaiah not as if Jesus had himself so declared, but merely as a primitive doctrine of the Church based upon "Scripture" (I Cor. 15 3) is rather opposed to this. But, as we have seen, it is impossible to hold that Jesus did not claim to be "the Christ". On the contrary it would be impossible without this to understand how the earliest witnesses came to think of his employment of the apocalyptic term Son of Man as a *self*-designation.

With the advancing shadow of the cross Jesus was driven to sustain both his own faith and his disciples' by increasing the proportionate emphasis on the transcendental aspect of the messianic hope, thus making the equivalence Son of David = Son of Man more and more unavoidable. He expressed his fearless confidence in the "good pleasure" (εὐδοκία) of the Father to give the Kingdom to his little flock. How, then, if not through their Leader? And if through a martyred Leader how otherwise than at the judgement seat of the Ancient of Days? The oldest Source records this unconquerable faith of Jesus through its version of the institution of the Supper, a version all the more significant from its complete independence of the Pauline (I Cor. 11 23-26) as well as the Marcan form (Mk. 14 22-26). The Q passage Lk. 22 28-30 = Mt. 19 28 records an interpretation of the bread and wine of the Covenant, supported, as we have seen, by allusions in I Cor. 6 3 and II Tim. 2 11-13, uttered in the same tone of heroic faith:

> Ye are they that have endured with me in my trials; and I covenant (διατίθεμαι) with you a kingdom, even as my Father covenanted with me (διέθετό μοι); that ye shall eat and drink at my table in my kingdom; and ye shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

Connection with Q has been denied to this passage on the ground that it is not in the spirit of the Second Source. Even were this true it would not affect the claim to authenticity, since the attestation is the same as for Q. In reality the objection rests on no better foundation than failure to recognize

an allusion to the "thrones of the house of David" of Ps. 122 4f. which was self-evident to Andreas of Caesarea. The words are of course symbolic, uttered in a tone of defiant exaltation in the face of death, intelligible only by reference to the scripture passages whose phraseology they adopt (II Sam. 9 7, 10, 13; Ps. 122 4f.). The Christology they reflect is that of the Son of David (cf. Acts 15 16-18; Didaché ix.). But their testimony cannot be set aside. Corroborated by that of the cross itself it shows that Jesus did perish as "King of the Jews".

We have indeed no need to show that Jesus' conception of the Kingdom was not "according to the things of men". Nevertheless, from Caesarea on, the hope of it was irrevocably linked to his own fate. Moreover it was to be given by God, not conquered by men. How else, then, can we imagine Jesus reassuring the Twelve that his own impending death would not frustrate God's design, if not by his pointing to the classic prophecy, where in vision Daniel sees the representative of down-trodden Israel brought to the heavenly judgment seat, not to dispense justice but to seek it, one "like unto a Son of Man" receiving on behalf of Jehovah's little flock "the everlasting dominion which shall not pass away". On the testimony of Mark we may well believe that Jesus himself in these days of preparation for the great tragedy spoke among his intimates those reassuring words pointing to the vision of Daniel which in due time were to be recalled as proof that all his earlier impersonal references to the coming of the Son of Man were mysterious "self-designations". The Matthean version of this same promise of reunion in the glories of the New Jerusalem, when compared with the simplicity of the Lukan form, is typical of the advance of apocalyptic Christology in the period of neo-legalism:

> Ye who have followed me, in the Regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit upon the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

Note. It is regrettable that the article "Did Jesus call Himself Son of Man?" in *The Journal of Religion* for September, 1922 should have appeared too late for consideration here. The author, Dr. Carl Patton, answers his own question in the negative.

THE PLACE OF APOCALYPTICAL CONCEPTIONS IN THE THOUGHT OF PAUL

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THE place of apocalyptical elements in the religion of a Jew or a Christian of the first century is not a merely historical problem, if by history we mean the study of sources and relationships. It is in every case a question also of interpretation, a psychological or a philosophical question, or perhaps one would better say a question of the personal quality and reaction. In the case of Paul the question is complicated, not only by peculiarities of his mind, but by the striking and distinctive quality in his religious experience. The resurrection of Christ was to Paul a fact of his own observation, and it was an eschatological event, and the first such event, as is clear in I Cor. 15 20-28. We have therefore to do in the case of Paul with one who regards last things as having already begun; and we shall see that there is involved in that fact a deep-going change in the signification of the apocalyptical ideas themselves. It is one thing to expect a supernatural intervention of God in the immediate future, the incoming of the heavenly world and its powers, bringing this present world to an end and bringing in the world to come, and quite another thing to believe that an event recently passed was the hoped for coming of God into the world, the overthrow of the powers of evil and the inauguration of the time of redemption and blessedness. Apocalyptical conceptions may no doubt be said to have an important place in the thought of a man who holds

this remarkable opinion, but the nature of apocalyptic hopes will be so transformed by such a conception of their fulfilment that the word can only be used with caution. To Paul, on account of the life, death and resurrection of Christ, all things had become new, including his fundamental conceptions of the other world itself, and of the nature of the dualism which in one sense or another is at the foundation of the apocalyptical view of the world. The new age had dawned and its powers were present and were experienced; Paul found himself a new being in a new world; and yet all things outwardly remained as they were. The other world must therefore be within and not beyond. A spiritualizing of the apocalyptical hope would be necessarily involved in the conviction that the new age was in a real sense present; and it would seem that nothing could be clearer than that in Paul apocalyptical conceptions have been in principle, whether more or less consciously, spiritualized. The new man that Paul feels himself to be is the man in whom spirit dominates over flesh, the man in whom love has overcome selfishness, who no longer lives to himself. Yet Paul is one who can look forward as well as backward for the coming of the Lord, and outward as well as inward. Though things are still outwardly as they were before Christ rose, while inwardly all things are new, yet they are not always to be outwardly the same. Paul does not question the primitive Christian expectation of the coming of Christ, although it is his past coming that is the supreme crisis in world history. The apocalyptical, therefore, comes into Paul's thought both as a means of interpreting the life and death and resurrection of Christ, and his present power as indwelling spirit to transform men's lives, and also as a hope for the speedy consummation of that redemption which is already a matter of experience. The central question that is before us therefore is that of the actual effect upon Paul's inherited ideas about the Day of the Lord and the World to Come, of Christ himself as a historical fact and as the present power of a new ethical life.

Whatever may be true about the eschatological ideas of Paul it is certainly true that he illustrates the fact that apocalyptical and spiritual conceptions can stand side by side

in one mind, apocalyptical and prophetic, we may perhaps say, and that the question is not between the one and the other but is a problem of the degree and manner of the relationship between the two. There is no doubt a strong tendency in common human minds to move from the prophetic to the apocalyptic, from the inner to the outer, from the spiritual to the miraculous; but the opposite movement is no less possible, and is to be expected in the case of greater men. We have a right to assume that men of great intellectual and moral nature and of creative influence in the spiritual history of man are in touch with realities in their thinking, rather than with myths and imaginations. Certainly in the case of Paul we are dealing with a very great man, with one also who had a very great experience which he could only speak of as a dying and living again. It is not unhistorical in the case of such a man to look for and expect to find transformations of outward things and of current opinions through which they become expressive of absolute values and universal human experiences.

Just now the tendency seems to be to emphasize the apocalyptical element in Paul and to regard every spiritualizing interpretation as an unhistorical modernizing of his modes of thought. This tendency has extreme expression in Schweitzer's *Paul and His Interpreters*.[1] In this "critical history" of the interpretation of Paul, Schweitzer finds the true view suggested only by Lüdemann (1872), and in Kabisch's *Die Eschatologie des Paulus* (1893), both of whom emphasize the objective, physical nature of redemption, and especially Kabisch the purely eschatological foundation and structure of Paul's thought. Schweitzer insists that Paul made no use whatever of Hellenistic ideas and that Jewish apocalyptic is the sole source and character of his Christianity. He labors especially to prove that the mysticism of Paul has nothing to do with Greek mysticism. The fundamental strain in it he insists was not ethical but physical. Although neither his mysticism nor his sacramentalism are Jewish, yet they have no touch of the Greek in them, and are to be understood as founded upon eschatology. Paul is one whose thought

[1] *Geschichte der paulinischen Forschung*, 1911. In English, 1912.

moves in the apocalyptic system created by the books of Daniel and Enoch. Schweitzer makes much use of the word *naturhaft*, and favors the translation of it by the word "physical", by which he means that body and soul are redeemed together, and that the whole world, the material universe, is to be transformed by a great catastrophic event. The clue to the understanding of Paul, he thinks, is to be found in the peculiar conditions of the brief intermediary period between the death of Jesus and the parousia, during which the natural and supernatural are both present in an unadjusted relationship to each other. The questions which he says we must answer in order to understand Paul are those that concern the scheme and order of the events of the end. They are such as the following: Are there two resurrections or one? one judgment or two? who rise at the parousia? does judgment take place then? who are judged, and by what standards, and in what do reward and punishment consist? what happens to those who are not destined to the Messianic kingdom? the fate of believers who fall by unworthy conduct,—can they lose their final blessedness, or are they only excluded from the Messianic kingdom? does Paul recognize a general resurrection, and if so when? when does the judgment take place at which the elect judge angels? Now it is not to be denied that Paul expresses opinions on some matters of this sort, although the fact that he leaves so many questions to be asked may itself indicate that he is not much concerned with the answers. But surely one who thinks that questions like these lead us to the heart of Paulinism lays himself open to the answer given most effectively by Reitzenstein, that he leaves not only Hellenism but Personality out of Paul, explaining him as a mechanical mixture of certain definite elements. It should, on the contrary, be the aim of the historian to grasp the personality of such a man as Paul and to understand him from himself, as well as from the environing world.[2] The one-sidedness of Schweitzer's interpretation is generally recognized. In fact the failure of any adequate appreciation of Paul casts suspicion back upon

[2] See Reitzenstein, *Religionsgeschichte und Eschatologie*, ZNTW, 1912, pp. 1—28.

Schweitzer's more influential effort to interpret the mind of Christ in exclusively apocalyptic terms. But there are others who feel justified in saying that Paul's outlook is at bottom that of Jewish apocalyptic.[3] Can this rightly be said, or in what measure is there truth in such a position?

If Jewish apocalyptical conceptions lie at the foundation of Paul's Christian thought we should expect evidence of it in his use of literature. As a matter of fact his use of the Old Testament shows no interest in the more apocalyptical types of prophecy. He interprets the Old Testament in a Christian sense, but does not seem concerned to find in it predictions of this or that detail of the life of Christ and the beginnings of Christianity, as do the writers of Matthew or Acts. He agrees with all Christians that Christ died for our sins and was buried and has been raised on the third day "according to the scriptures". But his chief concern is to read the Old Testament as a whole in such a way that it shall be seen to mean not Judaism and the Law but Christ and Christianity. The most important and difficult thing that Paul had to do in his Christianizing of the Old Testament was to justify his freedom from the law and the setting aside of Israel's peculiarity and prerogative. The bearing of his use of scripture on the question before us justifies our dwelling on the matter somewhat and noting his preferences. Paul's usual way of citing Scripture is with the use of the word γέγραπται. It is hard to be exact in enumerating the occurrences of this form of citation; but he uses it about thirty-six times, nine for citations from the Pentateuch, sixteen from the Prophets, and ten from the Psalms and Job, leaving I Cor. 2 9 for the present out of account. Of the thirty-five, eleven are from Isaiah and nine from the Psalms. Adding to these, other formulas of citation and also passages evidently quoted, though without any formula, we find thirty-four from the Pentateuch, thirty-three from the Prophets and twenty-nine from the Hagiographa. Of the thirty-three, twenty-two are from Isaiah, and of the twenty-nine, twenty-four are from the Psalms. Besides actual

[3] See for a recent example Morgan's *The Religion and Theology of Paul*, 1917, page 6.

citations there are of course other uses of Old Testament language. No list of such reminiscences or allusions can in the nature of the case be complete. For our present purpose we may take the phrases which Westcott and Hort print in uncial text in their edition, together with a few obvious additions. Including with these the citations proper, I find seventy-one references to the Pentateuch; five to the Former and ninety-eight to the Latter Prophets; and seventy-one to the Hagiographa. Of the ninety-eight, sixty-six are to Isaiah; and of the seventy-one forty-four are to the Psalms. Three-fourths of the whole number are from the Pentateuch, Isaiah and the Psalms.

It is surely not simply an accident that Paul makes so little use of the more distinctively apocalyptical parts of the Old Testament. In the quotations proper there are none at all from Daniel. From Ezekiel there is only one, and that somewhat uncertain and of no significance. It is evident that Ezekiel did not interest Paul. From Zechariah there is one (8 16); but of the apocalyptical elements of this book Paul seems to have made no use. There is one citation from Joel (Rom. 10 13), again not eschatological. Among the allusions there is one to Daniel in that most apocalyptic of all sections of Paul's letters, the prediction of Antichrist in II Thes. 2 3-12 (compare 2 4 with Dan. 11 36 f.). Even those who are not doubtful of the authenticity of this book commonly agree that this apocalyptic fragment is as little "Pauline" and as evidently borrowed as any passage in his letters. It is certainly an extraordinary fact that the Book of Daniel, which has so important a place in the Gospels and Revelation, has practically no value to Paul in his search through the Old Testament for Christ. That he does not use it or reflect upon it seems to bear upon the obscure question of his knowledge of the title "Son of Man", and the special conceptions of the Messiahship and the parousia which belong to that title. Considering the frequency of Paul's references to the parousia and the closeness of the connection of this expectation in the Gospels with Daniel 7 13 and the name "Son of Man", the absence of the title in Paul's letters and his complete indifference to the Book of Daniel are surely significant. We are left then with this

result, that the apocalyptical literature which was certainly within Paul's reach and had the undoubted character of canonicity he did not care for; and that he was practically content, so far as literary helps were concerned, to argue for the truth of Christianity against Judaism from the Pentateuch, and to find Christian faith and experience expressed in the language of Isaiah and the Psalms.

We have now to consider the one passage in which Paul quotes with the words "as it is written" a saying which is not found in the Old Testament, namely I Cor. 2 9. According to Origen the saying was found in the Secrets of Elijah the Prophet, a non-extant Jewish apocalypse. For our present purpose it is enough to make two observations on this apparent exception to the rule that Paul shows no interest in apocalyptical literature. In the first place his introduction of the quotation with the words καθὼς γέγραπται, with which he uniformly quotes the Old Testament, makes one suspect that he intended here to quote Isaiah 64 4 LXX. But in the second place a study of the course of thought in I Cor. 1—3 will make it, I think, quite certain that Paul is not speaking here of things eschatological, but of the Gospel itself, that wisdom of God which has been hidden but is now revealed to those who have received the spirit of God. The "things which eye saw not, and ear heard not, and which entered not into the heart of man, whatsoever things God prepared for them that love him", were to Paul not things that are still future, but the things promised of old which Christians have now received. These are things that God freely gives, but which can be known only by the spiritual; and my own conviction is clear that Paul does not intend by the wisdom which he speaks "among the perfect" to indicate an esoteric gnosis, whether about eschatological or other mysteries, additional to and distinct from Jesus Christ and him crucified, who is to us "wisdom from God, and righteousness and sanctification, and redemption".

If Paul knew any uncanonical apocalypse it would be the Book of Enoch. His attitude toward Daniel makes us realize that he may have known Enoch very well and yet have cared nothing for it and made no use of it. Charles, in the Intro-

duction to his *Book of Enoch* (2 ed. § 19), says, "The influence of I Enoch on the New Testament has been greater than that of all the other apocryphal and pseudepigraphic books taken together". Then, after including the direct quotation of Enoch in Jude 14-15, the allusions to the fall of the angels in Jude and II Peter, and the probable connection of I Peter 3 19-20 with Enoch 10, without distinction, in a long list of unconvincing parallels in the Catholic Epistles and Revelation, he turns to Paul, who "as we know, borrowed both phraseology and ideas from many quarters", and says, "We shall find that he was well acquainted with and used I Enoch". The evidence follows, twenty-one passages quoted without comment or discrimination. They consist largely of such phrases as the following: Angels of powers and angels of principalities; He who is blessed forever; In His name they are saved; This present evil world; According to His good pleasure; Children of light, *etc.* It is of course evident that expressions like these give no proof whatever of literary use. They are often of a biblical character, or are so slight as to carry no weight. Indeed one suspects that the verbal likeness is often due to Charles' translation rather than to the original author. Only two of the parallels have any real interest, Enoch 62 15-16 has a real likeness to Paul's comparison of the resurrection body with a clothing from heaven in II Cor. 5 2-4, and to his conception of the spiritual body in I Cor. 15; and the light that appears on the face of the holy and righteous in Enoch 38 4, may well be compared with the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ of II Cor. 4 6. The likeness in thought is important, but Paul's language does not suggest literary relationship. Just now Dr. Rendel Harris (Expository Times, June 1922, p. 423) argues that Paul makes a direct reference to Enoch 38 4 in II Cor. 3 18, which he would read in accordance with Tertullian's apparent quotation from Marcion's New Testament, "as if from the Lord of Spirits", instead of (R. V.) "even as from the Lord the Spirit". This is an interesting suggestion, but it is by no means so certain as Dr. Harris thinks. This great verse in Paul is shaped by the account of Moses in Ex. 34 29-35 with which Paul has been

dealing from verse 7 on, and needs no further explanation. The reading of the Greek manuscripts (πνεύματος, never πνευμάτων), in spite of a certain difficulty, follows not unnaturally from the sentence "The Lord is the Spirit" in verse 17; and the substitution of the Enoch phrase "Lord of Spirits" in Marcion's text is not difficult to account for without the assumption of its originality.

Very much, of course, is to be learned about current views of the world in Paul's time, and so about his own views, from the apocalypse of Enoch, and still more from the later apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch. These to be sure date a generation after Paul's death, but they are not so remote as Enoch is from the ideas and spirit of Rabbinical Judaism, and could have arisen, one would think, within the circles of such rabbis as afterwards joined the final Messianic revolution under Hadrian. But the differences in every direction which Christ made in Paul's thought prevent our inferring from these books what Paul's answers would have been even to such questions as Schweitzer asks; still less can they teach us the actual significance of apocalyptical hopes in Paul's religion. If we can trace two movements in the New Testament, one towards a greater elaboration of apocalyptical expectations, from Q to Mark, from Mark to Matthew, from Matthew to Revelation, and the other away from the apocalyptic toward the spiritual apprehension of the other world and man's relation to it, we must certainly say that Paul stands near the beginning of the second of these movements, of which the issue is in the Gospel of John. Paul appears to be moving away from the apocalyptic interpretation of Christianity. Assenting to what primitive Christians held as to the speedy coming of the Lord, he was yet not deeply concerned with its external features. He was greatly interested in the heavenly world and in the future age, but when we ask in what sort of another and future world his life was centered it appears at once how fundamentally different his interests were from those of apocalyptic religion.

It would be interesting in this connection to compare the spirituality of Paul with that most spiritual of the apocalypses,

the Parables of Enoch. The word spirit is central in this writer's religion. God is the Lord of Spirits who has filled the world with spirits. The spirit world is not to be seen by men and can be known only by revelation through one who has been translated into it. Religion consists in faith in the reality of the hidden dwelling places of the righteous, in the Lord of Spirits, in the Divine Wisdom which also dwells there, having found no dwelling place on earth, and in the Son of Man and his future coming as judge. One who has faith in this unseen world will renounce the present evil world and all its works and ways. When this other world takes the place of the present, the righteous will be changed in nature into accordance with that world and will be clothed with garments of glory, garments of life from the Lord of Spirits, which shall not grow old. They will enjoy familiar companionship with that Son of Man, in a world in which there is nothing corruptible and from which all evil shall have passed away.

Paul also knows two worlds and knows that it is the religious task of man to have his real home in the heavenly world. He also has seen in vision this heavenly realm and the heavenly man who dwells there and who is to be judge of the world. But Paul knows who this heavenly pre-existent man is. He is the exalted Jesus, but still Jesus himself, who had just lived and died in Palestine. It is in the light of his personality that Paul interprets the heavenly world. It is on this account that he never characterizes it as the apocalypses invariably do in language suggested by the actual vault of heaven, the sun and the stars. When in the third chapter of Colossians he admonishes Christians to seek the things that are above where Christ is, to set their minds on the things that are above, not on the things that are upon the earth, he says two things about it: that the Christian's life is there already, "for ye died, and your life is hid with Christ in God"; and that to seek it, to set one's mind upon it, means to put away earthly passions and unloving tempers and to put on the new man, that is the heart of compassion, kindness, humility, meekness, long-suffering, and above all love. This then is the nature of the other world in Paul's otherworldliness. It is above and

can be seen in vision, but it is within and must be gained by moral effort; and whether above or within its name and nature is Christ. Paul makes no use even of his own apocalyptic vision (2 Cor. 12 1-5) in what he says of the world above. Why should he depend on the visions of others?

It may be worth while to notice a remark by Franz Boll in his *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis* (1914). He finds that where the influence of the Old Testament fails to account for the imagery of the apocalypses, parallels can often be found in the Hellenistic literature of prediction. These analogies are numerous in the Book of Revelation, and at many points illuminating; and there are also many parallels between the Synoptic apocalypses and these texts of Hellenistic astrology; but Boll remarks (p. 135, n. 1) that he does not find in the apocalyptic passages in Paul any allusions to the Hellenistic texts which he has compared.

The dualism of Paul is made fundamentally different from that of the apocalypses by the fact of Christ. The doctrine of the two worlds, this world and the world to come, is often thought to be one of the distinctively apocalyptical conceptions of Paul, but its place in his scheme of thought is very different from that which it occupies in the apocalypse of Ezra. Paul can still speak of this world and of its rulers and even its god. The present world is the place or time of the power of evil. The Christian is not to be conformed to it. But he has already been delivered out of it. He is experiencing its end. Paul scarcely ever speaks of the world to come (see only Eph. 1 21 where its use is rhetorical). In fact the age to come has already dawned for the Christian. Its powers are already experienced, and its glories possessed. Already "all things are yours . . . whether things present or things to come". The dualism which is the key to Paul's thought is not expressed in the words of Ezra, "The Most High has made not one world, but two" (4 Ezra 7 50), but rather in the contrast between flesh and spirit, flesh being essentially Paul's word for human nature apart from the Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of Christ, or simply Christ (Rom. 8 1-11). The word spirit has indeed its eschatological connections; but it is unnecessary to

argue here the evident and recognized fact that one of the greatest achievements of Paul was his thoroughgoing re-interpretation of the conception of spirit into accordance with the actual character of the historical Jesus (I Cor. 12—14). Spirit remains of course to Paul the Divine Power operative in human life. But because he subjects it to the ideals and character, the mind, the love, of Christ, the supernatural becomes spiritual without losing its supernaturalness. Here as everywhere else when Paul thinks of the other world and of its forces and operations he thinks of Christ; and it is the difference which this makes that it is most essential to understand if one would know what has become of the apocalyptic elements of his inheritance in the mind of the Christian Paul. Only to this we must always add that Paul does not look away in order to see Christ, but within. The amazing fact of the Christ-likeness of the Christian is inseparably bound up with the transcendent fact of the God-likeness of Christ. And the Christ-likeness of the Christian is a fact which fills Paul with wonder and humility, but of which he is never for a moment in doubt. It is therefore possible for us, if we would know what Paul means by the other world, and therefore what the essence of his apocalyptic conception is, to look not only with him at Christ, but to look at him, and at Christ in and through him.

There are of course those who strenuously object to the idea that the actual historical fact of Jesus and the reality of his personal qualities and characteristics are the source of Paul's conceptions of religion. It is often argued, as conspicuously by Wrede, that the Christ of Paul's Christianity had nothing to do with the historical Jesus but was a purely mythological figure of Paul's inheritance, the heavenly being who came to earth on man's behalf, died on the cross for man's sin and his redemption, was exalted to the throne of God as Lord, and is soon to come as judge. To this view, as to so many opinions that are expressed about Paul, one feels like answering neither yes nor no. One should rather deny the alternative and reverse the emphasis. It would require space that I cannot here take to give the evidence that convinces

me that Paul knew well, even before his vision, just what manner of man Jesus was; and that the vision was his sudden conviction that this wholly un-messianic teacher, this lowly and crucified one, was the heavenly Messiah of his faith. It was just because in Jesus God had exalted humility and self-sacrificing love to lordship, and revealed them as the secret of the Divine, the foundation and the goal of all things, that Paul experienced so complete a revolution in all his ideals and ideas. The newness of all things was, we may believe, first of all a newness in his ideals and in his character. His letters are full of expressions of his sense that he had already become, though he was still always becoming, like Christ in his moral nature; and about the qualities of that nature he is never uncertain or obscure. They are not in the least different from the qualities which in the Gospels we recognize as those of the historical person Jesus Christ. Paul knows these qualities as one who himself possesses them, or rather is possessed by them, not as one who learns about them from others. Paul himself, whom we know far better than we know his teachings, is the convincing truth that the Jesus whom he knew was the Jesus of history.

The real question, therefore, which we need to ask about the eschatology of Paul is, What results naturally follow and actually followed from these two great facts which are united in his great experience, the fact of Christ and the fact of Paul's own new nature in conformity with Christ?

We notice at once that the very fact that Paul's religion is embodied in his personality distinguishes him from all the writers of apocalypses and puts him rather in the class of the great prophets, whose greatest message was themselves. Paul does not write under the name of some ancient man of God. His letters have more of himself in them than any other biblical writings, even the prophecies of Jeremiah. There is always an element of unreality even in the greatest of the apocalypses. Their assumed authorship involves a separation of the things they write from the actuality of their knowledge and experience. They are students of ancient oracles and are subject to tradition. We feel in them an incapacity to distinguish between outward

forms and inner meanings, between symbols and realities. In all these things Paul is the opposite of an apocalyptic spirit.

Paul's experience was his own. The unseen world is therefore not in the same sense mysterious and external as it is when looked at by an outsider. When one has in some real sense seen God for himself his wonder and reverence are not less, but yet the God whom he knows has become in some sense his own inner and true self, and is not a God remote in space, whom one can see only in trance, or distant in time, for whose coming one has to hope and wait.

Much can be said for the value of the apocalypse, for its advance toward a cosmic and universal range and scope, and for its effectiveness in holding men's faith to the unseen reality and future coming of the rule of God in times of stress and strain; nevertheless it remains true that rational soundness and ethical strength are lacking in the apocalypses in comparison with the older prophecy. Paul's account of the newly revealed wisdom of God in I Cor. 1—3 is altogether in the direction of a return to inwardness and reality. Spiritual things are spiritually judged, and must therefore be known by every man for himself, quite in accordance with Jeremiah's ideal (31 31-34). The man who thus sees and judges is free and needs no outward authority. In this description of the nature of the new knowledge the nature of the things known is given. They consist of such things as can be known only in this way; and Paul is surely unmistakable in his indications as to what these things are. They are things that create humility over against all pride of opinion, and they are things that issue in the unity of mutual love, in contrast to everything that produces jealousy and strife. The height and depth of knowledge which Paul prays that Christians may apprehend is nothing but that love of Christ which passeth knowledge. Moral motives and values are dominant in the eschatology of Paul.

The coming of the Lord was always the center of the Old Testament and Jewish hope for the future. For early Christianity and for Paul the coming of the Lord was the coming of Christ. Paul takes this expectation for granted as a primary and unquestionable part of the new religion; but its place in

his religion is different from its place in Matthew or in Revelation. Paul knows three comings of Christ. The first is the historical coming; and Paul sees more clearly than popular Jewish Christianity did that this has and keeps the place of first importance. It is by the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ that redemption has been wrought out and accomplished. The cross is to Paul the dividing point between the old and the new. When Christ was raised by God from death and became life-giving spirit and was given the supreme title of Lord, a new creation was brought into being which can be compared only to God's calling of light out of darkness in the beginning, or to his making the first man a living soul. The gospel thus revealed and imparted is the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. The spiritual nature of the second man, the heavenly, is the beginning and source of a new and in the end all-inclusive humanity. This means that the coming of God, which was the hope of Paul's favorite Old Testament books, Isaiah and the Psalms, is in the most real sense a historical fact of the immediate past. With the resurrection of Christ the age to come has already begun. There is surely reason enough in this alone to account for the fact that Paul has little interest in the apocalypses, which have to do only with the future manifestation of a God who is now hidden or withdrawn. The difference involved in this conception of Paul is much more than a difference in time between a future and a past event. It involves a fundamental difference in kind. Externality and sensible images must essentially give place to inner experience in the thought of one to whom the fundamental intervening of God in human history took place in Christ and in his death and exaltation.

To understand the way in which Paul conceives this coming we must turn to what follows directly from it, to Paul's addition of a second coming of the Lord to his past historical coming, namely his present coming as spirit. The present experience of Christ as indwelling, and as the Divine Power that re-creates human nature, is the most characteristic and original element in his Christian thinking. The phrase "in Christ" seems to

have been his own creation, and expresses his sense that Christ has become in some most real though mysterious sense the Divine element in which he lives, his own new nature, truly himself, though also not himself, the reality of the immanent God, whose presence means now the power of righteousness, and hereafter the power of eternal life. J. Weiss (*Das Urchristentum*, p. 408) says, "If the mystic experience is the anticipation of future blessedness as present, then mysticism is in a certain way the annulling or overcoming of eschatology. In the degree in which the eschatological hope still rules in the religion of Paul, in that degree his religion is not mystical. This however is the case in so high a degree that the range of mysticism in him is thereby very considerably limited". My own inclination would be to put emphasis on the contrary inference, and say that the importance of eschatology in the religion of Paul must be very considerably limited by the vivid reality with which Paul conceives his own life and that of every Christian to be already a life of oneness with Christ. The word spirit was of indispensable value to Paul in his effort to express this part of his Christian experience and to keep in relation with one another factors in it which were difficult to hold together. The spirit is both supernatural and inward; it expresses our experience of the Divine as both above us and within. Of course the present experience of Christ as Divine Spirit did not exclude from Paul's view the expectation of his personal coming and the desire for a personal 'being with the Lord'. On the other hand, Paul speaks of the spirit as the ground of our hope (Rom. 5 5), as the pledge, the first fruits, the promise, the seal, of that which is still to come (Gal. 3 14; Rom. 8 23; II Cor. 1 22 5 5; Eph. 1 13, 14 4 30). The resurrection of Christ, which as we have seen was to Paul the first properly eschatological event, is thought of by him as something already experienced in the case of every Christian. "Ye died, and your life is hid with Christ in God". "If then ye were raised together with Christ, seek the things that are above". And this being raised together with Christ means that the Christian walks in newness of life.[4] In this language of Paul concerning the dying

[4] See Rom. 6 1-11.

and rising of men with Christ there is the most striking evidence of the ease and naturalness with which the eschatological is converted in his mind into present inward and ethical experiences. One feels that this characteristic is due less to a natural mysticism in Paul than to the strength and consistency with which he carried through his picture of the actual character of the actual Jesus, and subjected all things to the test of that character. It is because it was Jesus who died and rose that his dying and rising become not only facts of the past, and not only among past facts the greatest in human history, but also inner experiences, the death of fleshly passions and of all selfishness and every divisive feeling and the beginning of a new and until then impossible kind of life.

In this quality of Paul's Christian thinking we see a further reason why apocalypses would lose their appeal to him. The spirit of the greatest of the apocalypses is a spirit of exclusiveness and of fear and hatred toward the world. They express the self-assertion of the Jewish, or as in the Book of Revelation of the Christian, church, over against a dominant world power that threatens its destruction. Their strength is in their appeal to the martyr spirit of fidelity amid persecution, in view of the certain intervention of God for the destruction of the wicked and the elevation of the faithful to power and blessedness. But to Paul the love of God, as evident and effective in Christ, puts an end to distinction, and works in and through men toward the creation of oneness and peace. The hope of the writer of Daniel is for the destruction of Antiochus Epiphanes and of the Greek empire, and the rule in its place of the people of the saints of the Most High. The hope of John, the prophet, was for the fall of the Roman empire; and for this the writers of the apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch looked forward, as did the earlier Psalms of Solomon, and the Assumption of Moses. Paul also has his eye on the Roman empire, but his apostolic calling, and his passionate desire and confident expectation, are not its destruction, but its conversion; and this difference is due to Jesus, that is to the fact that the Messiah is now known to be a man long-

suffering and forgiving toward sinners, drawing and uniting all men through the power of his humility and love.

What now is distinctive in Paul's view of the still future coming of that Christ whose first coming brought redemption and created a new world, and whose present inward coming is the power of new life in men, transforming them progressively into its own likeness? The parousia, or manifestation, or coming of the Lord is appealed to by Paul frequently as a motive to Christian living, and is desired by him as meaning a closer fellowship of the disciple with his master. We should expect to find that Paul's hope for the coming of Christ is consistent with his understanding of the significance of his death and resurrection as the turning point in history, and with his conviction that Christ already lives in him. And in reality the future coming does seem in Paul's thought to bring only fullness and completion to that which has been already given and is already possessed. Christ is to Paul always a person toward whom his love is intense and his loyalty and devotion unbounded. But he is at the same time a divine principle and a human ideal. Because this principle and ideal is Love, only a person can be its expression or embodiment, a person who loves and is loved. It is not only the distinctive characteristic of the Christian religion that it is embodied in an actual person, but its nature is such that it could not be contained in any other vessel than that of personality; or, we may say, Christ was such a person that the religious movement started by him must because of its nature continue to be bound up with him. To one who, like Paul, thus conceives of religion, the coming of Christ could no longer mean the coming of a certain nation to political dominance, nor the coming of Enoch's Son of Man as the divine agent for judgment. It could mean essentially nothing but the completion of the coming of the Divine Love, and that in its only conceivable embodiment in personalities.

In two passages Paul discusses the coming of the Lord in some detail. 1 Thes. 4 13—5 11 aims to allay the fear that Christians who die before Christ's coming would have no part in it. Paul's answer is that the dead and living will fare alike, and that 'being ever with the Lord' is equally the goal for all.

In I Cor. 15 the objection of the Greek mind to the idea of resurrection is discussed at length and a middle path is sought between the Jewish conception of resurrection and the Greek conception of the immortality of the soul, its separation from the body being its escape from a prison or tomb. Paul's thought is determined here of course in part by his Hebrew heritage but also and fundamentally by that which forms the ground and the contents of his hope, the destined oneness of the Christian with Christ. Death will not separate us from him, but rather his coming will mean our translation, out of death, or, if we live, out of our flesh and blood nature, into the spiritual nature of Christ. We shall bear his image as we have borne the image of Adam. Personal fellowship with Christ, and to this end likeness in nature to Christ, constitute the real meaning of the coming of the Lord to Paul. It is impossible to read his letters and still suppose that the physical descent of Christ, the shouting and sound of the trumpet of God, the bodily rapture of Christians into the spaces between earth and heaven, are original with Paul or of any essential importance to him. To be forever with the Lord is his hope, and he will not tolerate any conceptions which seem to him to put in danger the certainty and full reality of this personal life with Christ. Death before his coming must not stand in its way; and the nature of life after death cannot be different from *his* life after death. To Paul the Greek immortality of the soul did not seem fully personal nor fitted to introduce the man himself into the presence of the heavenly Lord. Unless we also rise, and rise just as he did, to the same sort of heavenly existence, how can we hope for that association with him which is our heart's desire? "None of us liveth to himself, and none dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; or whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's." "Our citizenship is in heaven; from whence also we wait for a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ; who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of his glory, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto himself." In such sentences we have both the contents

and the spirit of Paul's eschatology. To be with Christ and to be wholly one with him is then the thing essential and all-inclusive.[5]

If we look for further details which do not suggest the mere acceptance of current tradition but seem to be matters of Paul's own interest and reflection, we note especially the following. In the first place Paul looks forward to the redemption of the body as that which is still future, for those whom the spirit of life in Christ Jesus has already freed from the law of sin and of death, and who are even "not in the flesh, but in the spirit", because the spirit of God, that is the spirit of Christ, or Christ himself, dwells in them. We "who have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for our adoption, the redemption of our body". This is that "revealing of the sons of God" for which the whole creation waits, since it will bring to creation itself deliverance from the bondage of corruption. This magnificent picture of a transformation of the physical world into its destined fitness for spiritual life (Rom. 8 18-25) is surely the creation of Paul's own genius. It implies in striking form his conviction that the greater redemption, that of the human mind from the dominion of sin, is a thing of past fact and present experience. The inward is essentially achieved; the outward remains for the future.

Another striking prophetic outlook of Paul concerns the completion of his own task as apostle to the Gentiles, the subjection of humanity in its completeness to Christ, and the inclusion in the end of his own brethren to whom sonship and the promises originally belonged (Rom. 9—11).

In I Cor. 15 20-28, we have an apocalyptic picture which depends in part on tradition but is shaped by Paul's mind, and reaches at the end a high and difficult point on which we could have wished that he had cast further light. Paul everywhere understands that Divine Love, which is the mind of Christ, is the creator of unity. He assails more vehemently

[5] The writer has discussed more fully Paul's conception of life after death in a chapter of *Religion and the Future Life*, edited by E. H. Sneath, The Revell Co. 1922.

than any other fault in his Christian churches every tendency toward strife, ill will, envy, rivalry, and self-assertion. Christianity means the end of all those distinctions which religion itself had magnified in the past. "There is no distinction" (Rom. 3 22). "There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female; for ye all are one man in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3 28). "Where there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman: but Christ is all, and in all." This last passage (Col. 3 11) belongs in the description of what Paul would have Christians see and become when they set their minds on the things that are above. When Paul looks forward to Christ's completion of his conquest of evil he sees a fulfillment of that supreme forecast of prophecy "The Lord shall be King over all the earth: in that day shall the Lord be one and his name one" (Zech. 14 9). The oneness which is the goal of Paul's hope is not only created by the Divine Love, but is certainly in its nature the oneness of love. When therefore Paul says, "when all things have been subjected unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things unto him, that God may be all in all", he cannot mean a return of the movements of history and nature into the God from whom they went forth of such a nature that an abstract and empty unity alone is left. God is the fulness of life and his oneness can be only inclusive of all that love is and effects. At this high point of Paul's passion and thought we are certainly to see nothing inconsistent with, or different from, that other height, perhaps the greatest that he attained, where he exclaims, "I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 8 38 f.).

The eschatology of Paul is of such a nature, so vital, so alive with the force of his personality, so "carried alive into the heart by passion", that it is impossible to approach toward an understanding of it except by the use of his own words. Paul was of course a man of his time, and we can learn from

him much in regard to the thoughts of his time as to heavenly things and beings, and future divine events. We need also the light of all contemporary literature, including the apocalyptic, in order to understand his language and the forms of his thought. But Paul was a great personality and had a great experience; and the new feelings and thoughts which this experience called forth in him are more significant than the forms in which they struggled for expression. It is possible that a development can be traced in his letters from more outward to more spiritual forms of hope; but the underlying principles of his religion of hope remain the same, and what is more certain and more important than a development of his ideas is the fact that always and everywhere the bearing and natural tendency and effect of his thought and feeling are toward the spiritual. The Christian both is and is to be like Christ. And that which we hope for we already possess, and so know, even though only in part, yet with the certainty of actual experience. But this Christ-likeness now and hereafter is both a gift from God, a divine creation, and also equally a moral ideal and achievement. Paul charges his disciples to become that which in reality they are, to walk by the spirit by which they live, and urges them to strive for the goal to which they are destined; speaking of himself also, even at the end of his life, as still seeking to lay hold of that for which also he was laid hold of by Christ Jesus (Phil. 3 8–14). There is scarcely any analogy in the literature of apocalyptic to the way in which Paul undertakes as man's own purpose and responsibility all that for which he also hopes from the purpose and manifest coming and act of God.

ON THE TRIAL OF JESUS BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN

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MANY treatises have been written on this theme, and unfortunately many of them have not been composed in a judicial temper. Christian writers have too often been disposed to prove the Jewish Sanhedrin guilty of violating their own rules of procedure, and Jewish writers have too often been anxious, in order to excuse their kinsfolk, to prove the Gospels false. Fortunately now a more scientific temper is manifested in some quarters. Professor R. W. Husband in his book *The Prosecution of Jesus*, and Mr. H. Danby in his article "The Bearing of the Rabbinical Criminal Code on the Jewish Trial Narratives in the Gospels" in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXI (1920), pp. 51—76, have not only written in excellent temper, but by their scientific method, have put the matter in a new perspective. It is the purpose of this note briefly to examine certain points in the treatment of the subject by these two scholars and to make one or two suggestions.

Professor Husband has made it clear that the Romans did not maintain prosecuting officials in the provinces, that, if a crime was committed, it ordinarily went unpunished unless the native constabulary, or whatever corresponded to such officials, took the matter up and brought complaint against the criminal. In such cases, if the offence was of so serious a nature that the Romans did not permit the native authorities to deal with it, the Roman governors passed upon it. This point seems to be well made out. Husband therefore proceeds to argue that the Sanhedrin did not really put Jesus on a judicial trial, but simply

examined him in order to gain evidence on which to formulate a charge against him to the Roman Governor. On this point his conclusion does not seem to be so well founded, but we shall return to the subject again a little later.

Both Husband and Danby take the ground that a fair-minded historian should not weave together from all four Gospels a harmonistic account of the trial, and they agree in thinking that in the Gospel of St. Luke we probably have the most reliable account of the trial.

One would agree that an historical account should be based upon the Synoptic Gospels, but to reject the evidence of Mark, the earliest of these, in favor of Luke, seems an unwarranted proceeding. Luke modifies the last chapters of Mark quite freely and, though he had other sources, they were probably not earlier than Mark. His modifications of Mark in other respects are not of a nature to convince one that, for the events connected with the last days of Jesus, he is a better authority than Mark.

One must, therefore, believe that there were two hearings before the Sanhedrin, as the Gospel of Mark states, and that the first of them was held during the night. This did not, however, necessarily violate the legal procedure of the Sanhedrin, for the regulations as laid down in the Mishna and Tosephta come from a later period, and, as Danby has shown, they probably do not represent the practice of the days before the year 70 A. D., when the Sanhedrin had some real authority.

The Gospel of Mark would seem to be a source of information more nearly contemporary with the events than any other that we have. Personally I am much impressed by the arguments of Harnack and Torrey for the early date of the Acts, and the Gospels of Luke and Mark. If Acts was written during St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, Mark, one of the sources of Luke, must have been composed as early as 50 A. D. and perhaps earlier. It was written while the Church was still a part of the synagogue. It is not, like the Gospel of John, pervaded by an anti-Jewish polemic. There is no reason to suppose that it was not the aim of its author to state events as nearly as he could as they happened. As many admit, there is much evidence that a good deal of its material comes from an eye witness of the events

described. Its account of the trial is, accordingly, worthy of great respect. It seems to me our best source of information as to Jewish practice for the period which it covers.

It should be borne in mind that in 30 A. D. the development of the Oral Law was in its infancy. Hillel and Shammai had lived as recently as the reign of Herod the Great, and, while it is evident that the traditional regulations which were afterward embodied in the Mishna were, on some points, such as the observance of the Sabbath and as to certain ceremonies of purification, fairly well developed, there is no certainty that the regulations as to the conduct of trials laid down in the tract *Sanhedrin* had taken the shape in which they appear in that tract. Indeed, as Danby has pointed out, there is much reason to believe that they had not. Those writers are, accordingly, in error, who claim, on the ground of the disparity between the accounts in the Gospels and the rules of procedure laid down in that tract, that the trial of Jesus was from the Jewish point of view, illegal.

It is clearly the intent of St. Mark's narrative to state that during the night, after Jesus' arrest, "there came together unto him" (i. e. the high priest,) "the chief priests and the elders and the scribes" (Mark 14 53). If this was not a meeting of the Sanhedrin, it was certainly a meeting of the persons of whom the Sanhedrin was normally composed. When assembled, these people proceeded to examine witnesses against Jesus. They did not seek, as the Gospel of Matthew states, for false witness, for, had they done so, they would have coached their witnesses so that their testimony would agree. As will be shown below, the whole proceeding seems to have been the result of a sudden resolution and the testimony was not prearranged; it was simply that of persons who volunteered to testify.

The situation which presented itself had arisen out of the following circumstances. Jesus, from the beginning of his ministry, had excited the opposition of the Pharisees. His disregard for the traditions concerning the observance of the Sabbath, combined with his frequent denunciation of them on account of the formal character of their piety, had angered and embittered them. The Pharisees and the Scribes, who were

generally Pharisees, did not constitute the whole of the Sanhedrin. That body included the chief priests, who were Sadducees. The High Priest, Caiaphas, was a son-in-law of Annas or Anan, who had himself been High Priest from 6 to 15 A. D., and of whose sons no fewer than five held the high priesthood at different times.[1] One of these, also called Anan, was High Priest for three months during the Procuratorship of Albinus (62—64 A. D.), and, during his brief term of office, secured the condemnation and execution by stoning of James the brother of Jesus.[2] The elder Annas was, it seems, also the proprietor of "the bazaars of the sons of Anan", mentioned in the Talmud, which supplied, often at excessive prices, offerings to pilgrims, and also gained large profits by exchanging their money. It is believed by many that this elder Annas, after he was deposed from the high priesthood, continued for many years to preside over the Sanhedrin. If we are not mistaken, it was the Sadducean priesthood, over whom this Annas ruled as a sort of Ecclesiastical boss, that secured the condemnation of Jesus. To understand their motive, another event must be recalled.

On Monday of Passion week, Jesus, indignant at their extortion, had driven the sellers of sacrifices and the money-changers from the Temple. It is on record that these vendors of sacrifices once charged a gold denar[3] (about $ 3.90) for a pair of pigeons, which they afterward sold for about 4 cts., the usual price at that time. It does not take much imagination to convince one that every pilgrim chafed under such profiteering. On the Monday when Jesus drove the traders from the Temple courts, the courts were probably filled with indignant pilgrims. Some of these were doubtless from Galilee and looked upon Jesus as the Messiah, but whether from Galilee or not, they would, under the circumstances, side with the popular champion and constitute a throng which rendered it impossible for the Temple guards to protect the traders. This interruption of their traffic at a time so near the festival, when large profits could be made, doubtless angered Annas and Caiaphas and the whole priesthood, but, for the moment, they were powerless to avenge themselves. Popular

[1] Jos. *Ant.* XX. 9, 1. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ker.* 1. 7.

feeling was too strong. So they waited for a more propitious time. It was at this stage of affairs that Judas, for motives which we can only conjecture, betrayed to the priests Jesus' Messianic secret—the fact which Jesus had guarded so carefully—and offered to make it possible to arrest Jesus. As others have conjectured, Judas probably did this on Wednesday afternoon or Thursday morning in connection with the purchase of a paschal lamb. This gave the house of Annas an opportunity to avenge themselves for the disturbance of their business, and also laid upon them the obligation, as officers in some degree responsible for keeping public order, to arrest Jesus since a Messianic claim was, they thought, treason against Rome. It was thus the Sadducean element of the Sanhedrin—the element least careful about the observance of traditional rules, either in religious matters or in the administration of justice—that was responsible for the arrest of Jesus and for his trial. Even if the rules of procedure laid down more than two hundred years later in the Mishna were then in their incipiency, (of which there is no certainty), the Sadducees would be the least likely carefully to observe them.

Under the circumstances Judas doubtless arranged to help them accomplish the arrest of Jesus during the late hours of Thursday night. This gave the Sadducean priesthood an opportunity to arrange for a quorum of the members of the Sanhedrin to be within call. This easily accounts for the night meeting of St. Mark's account. Those writers who have pictured the improbability of messengers being sent about Jerusalem to rout the revered members of the Gerousia out of bed in the small hours of the morning have, I think, failed to exercise the historical imagination.

As already pointed out, the whole arrangement was a hurried one. The witnesses called could not agree, and nothing could be established except at "the mouth of two or three witnesses".[4] The Gospels give but the most summary account of the proceedings, omitting doubtless many details. We are told, however, that finally the High Priest asked Jesus whether he were the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed, and, upon Jesus admitting

[4] Deut. 17 6.

that he was, the High Priest expressed his opinion that no further testimony was needed—an opinion in which those present (or a majority of them) concurred.

If this outline presents at all the real order of events and the motives which were at work, it is not difficult to understand the attitude of those members of the Sanhedrin who were Pharisees. Jesus' open opposition to the Oral Law had estranged them from him. They regarded him as religiously dangerous. Doubtless, too, many of them shared the opinion that it was politically dangerous to permit any one who made a claim to be the Messiah to be at large. It is easy to understand, therefore, that, while not active in securing the arrest of Jesus, they could not conscientiously make an active effort for his acquittal.

The fact that, after the night session of the Sanhedrin, which found Jesus guilty of blasphemy, and therefore guilty of death, the Sanhedrin was called together again in the morning, to confirm the sentence, indicates that there was already in existence a rule that no capital sentence was valid until it had been twice affirmed by successive sessions of the Gerousia. It is not certain that the rule that a day must intervene between these successive sessions had as yet been formulated. If it had been, one can understand why, with the feast so near, the fear that delay might cause a popular uprising led the Sadducean leaders to waive this regulation as, in this case, an unnecessary technicality. At all events there seems to be the best authority for saying that the assembly on the morning of Friday was the second session at which the Sanhedrin passed upon the condemnation of Jesus.

Objection to the accounts of the trial of Jesus have been raised on the ground that the Gospels represent the Messianic claim of Jesus as a religious offense when considered by the Jewish Gerousia, but, when they appear before Pilate, they treat it as a political offense. So far from being an objection, this representation is so true to the historical situation that it fits like a key in a lock. As reported in the Gospel of Mark, the question which the High Priest asked Jesus involved a claim to the sort of Messiahship described in the Enoch Parables.[5] At

[5] Especially Enoch chapters 46 and 48.

least it was so understood by the High Priest. On no other ground could it be called blasphemy. For this Galilean Carpenter to make such a claim was preposterous, they thought. For any mere man to make it, they would naturally regard as blasphemy. They were a religious as well as a civil body; and this is the religious aspect which would appeal to them.

From the point of view of the Roman government, however, such considerations had no weight. The Sanhedrin had been deprived of the power of administering the death penalty. That was in the hands of the Roman officials. If the sentence which they had reached before their own tribunal was to be carried out, it must be represented in a light that would secure favorable consideration by a Roman official. Messianism, in one of its aspects, was, at least as ordinarily understood, another name for revolution. When the Jewish representatives accused Jesus to Pilate, therefore, they naturally insisted upon this aspect of the case. It took no great degree of astuteness to do this; they would have been, from their own point of view, foolish had they done otherwise.

Such seems to have been in general outline the causes and the procedure of the trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrin. Putting aside all religious prejudice one cannot say that the men who conducted it meant to do gross injustice. They were, however, not saints. They were moved by very human motives, and the reputation of some of them as reported by their coreligionists, Josephus and the writers of the Talmud, was not savory. Nevertheless, similar motives working in officials of similar character have often caused as gross a miscarriage of justice in Christian courts as resulted in the trial under consideration. The great misfortune of the members of the Sadducean priesthood of the year 30 is that they happened to judge the most illustrious and the holiest Prisoner of all time.

ZEIT UND RAUM IM DENKEN DES URCHRISTENTUMS

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BEKANNT ist die biblische Anschauung von dem am Anfang der Menschheitsgeschichte liegenden Paradieszustand. Durch die Sünde verscherzt sich die Menschheit diesen und nun vollzieht sich eine Entwicklung, die von Stufe zu Stufe zu immer größerem Elend führt. Die ersten Urväter erreichen noch ein Alter von 950 und 969 Jahren, später sinkt das Lebensalter der Patriarchen auf 130 beziehungsweise 120 Jahre herab, endlich heißt es: „das Menschenleben währt 70 Jahre, und wenn es hoch kommt, 80 Jahre, und wenn es köstlich gewesen ist, ist es Mühe und Arbeit gewesen“ (Psalm 90 10). Diese Verschlimmerungstheorie hat ihren großartigsten Ausdruck gefunden durch den Apostel Paulus im ersten Kapitel des Römerbriefes: die Menschen, im Besitze der Uroffenbarung Gottes, geben diese preis, verfallen erst darauf, den unsichtbaren Gott in sinnlicher Abbildung zu verehren, dann die Kreatur an Stelle des Schöpfers anzubeten, um schließlich in vollendeter Gottlosigkeit zu enden; und jede dieser Stufen religiösen Verfalles straft sich mit einem Niedergang auf sittlichem Gebiet: „dafür gab Gott sie hin in schändliche Lüste, in verkehrten Sinn“, wie es refrainartig Vers 24, 26, 28 wiederkehrt. Diese Anschauung, zu der sich Analogien auch sonst in damaliger Zeit nachweisen lassen, mag auf einer Übertragung des allgemein menschlichen Urteils über die alte, gute Zeit auf die Gesamtentwicklung beruhen; jenes Zeitalter fühlte sich greisenhaft alt. Sie hat aber

durch die Bibel und insonderheit durch Paulus beherrschenden Einfluß für die Folgezeit gewonnen.

Hiermit vergleiche man nun einen Text, der sich hie und da in jungen griechischen Handschriften, aber auch als Anhang zu der *expositio totius mundi et gentium* findet.[1] Hier wird nach einer Beschreibung des Landes der Seligen, Eden, der Weg von Eden bis zu dem Römerland im Stil eines antiken Jtinerars mit genauer Angabe der Zahl der Tagereisen beschrieben: er führt über Brahmanenland, Evilat, Jemer, Nekus, Disimanes ins Land der Choner, nach dem angeblich von Alexander erreichten Diaba, Großindien, Axiomien, Kleinindien, Persien, Sarazenien, nach Evilat am Roten Meer, Elamen, Antiochien, Konstantinopel, Rom bis Gallien. In Summa 1425 Tagereisen oder 63900 Meilen Weges. Was aber die Hauptsache ist, mit jeder Tagereise, die man sich von Eden weiter entfernt, wird es schlechter. Die Bewohner von Eden brauchen weder zu säen, noch zu ernten, sondern sind nur mit dem Lobpreis Gottes beschäftigt; weiterhin säen und ernten sie, leben aber in Kommunismus und sind durchweg Christen. Bis Disimanes ist das Land ungeteilt und frei von Götzenbildern, auch im Chonerland noch sind sie Christen. Weiterhin aber sind Christen und Heiden gemischt, in Persien sind sie Magier und Giftmischer; kurz es wird immer schlimmer, je weiter man sich vom Paradies entfernt.

Es ist klar, daß hier nur eine andere Ausführung des gleichen Gedankens gegeben ist, den wir vorhin besprachen, nur daß an die Stelle des Zeitschemas der Raumgedanke getreten ist. Das wird auf griechischen Einflüssen beruhen. Bei den Griechen finden wir von jeher ein Überwiegen des Raumgedankens; sie reden von den Inseln der Seligen im Westmeer, sie fabeln von einem Idealzustand der Menschen bei den Hyperboreern des Nordens und seit den Zügen Alexanders des Großen suchen sie das Land der Seligen im fernen Sonnenlande des Ostens. Wohl haben wir bei Hesiod den Gedanken der sich ablösenden Zeitalter, schon hier mit der Verschlechterungsidee: auf das goldene

[1] Siehe *Geogr. lat. min.* ed. Riese 1878 pag. 104 ff., Klotz, im *Rhein. Mus. f. Phil.* Bd. 65, 1910. pag. 606—616, von Dobschütz, Wo suchen die Menschen das Paradies? in der *Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Universität zu Breslau* 1911, pag. 246—255.

folgt das silberne und so weiter. Anaximander und Empedokles reden von sich immer wiederholenden Zyklen in der Geschichte. Im Mythus spielt der seine Kinder verschlingende Kronos eine Rolle, in den Mysterien von Eleusis der Aion.[2]

Zu dieser religiösen Weltanschauung des älteren Christentums stellen sich auf dem Gebiete der Profangeschichte die Meisterleistungen eines Thukydides, Herodot, Xenophon und ihrer Nachfolger, aber dennoch bleibt das Urteil Windelbands bestehen: „die Fragestellung der griechischen Wissenschaft war von Anfang an auf die Physis, auf das bleibende Wesen gerichtet, und diese aus dem Bedürfnis der Naturauffassung hervorgegangene Fragestellung hatte den Fortgang der Begriffsbildungen so stark beeinflußt, daß der zeitliche Ablauf des Geschehens immer nur als etwas sekundäres behandelt wurde, dem kein eigenes metaphysisches Interesse sich zuwendete . . . Die Frage nach einem Gesetz in der Menschengeschichte, nach einem planvollen Zusammenhang der historischen Entwicklungen war niemals als solche aufgeworfen worden und noch weniger war es einem der alten Denker eingefallen, darin das eigentliche Wesen der Welt zu sehen".[3] Wir haben bei den griechischen Philosophen von Plato und Aristoteles an ausführliche Theorien über den Raum, die bis in die christliche Zeit und das späte Mittelalter nachwirken.[4] Etwas Gleichartiges über den Zeitbegriff läßt sich dem nicht zur Seite stellen; im Gegenteil, wo man eine Erörterung dieses Begriffes erwarten sollte, wie zum Beispiel in Platos *Timäus* c. 18, werden wir geradezu durch das Ausbleiben jeder Erörterung enttäuscht. Wohl redet Plato (52[a])

[2] Über die Wortbedeutung von *αἰών* (Leben, Lebenskraft, Lebensinhalt, Lebensdauer, dann Zeitraum, saeculum, Ewigkeit) s. die Königsberger Dissertation von C. Lackeit, *Aion, Zeit und Ewigkeit in Sprache und Religion der Griechen*, 1916; mehr philosophiegeschichtlich ist H. Leisegang, *Die Begriffe der Zeit und Ewigkeit im späteren Platonismus*, Münster 1913. Von dem hellenistischen Gott Aion handelt R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 1921.

[3] Windelband, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der alten Philosophie*, pag. 209 ff. Loofs, *Leitfaden der Dogmengeschichte*. 4. Aufl., pag. 58.

[4] Vergleiche unter anderen Ephraems des Syrers Widerlegung von von Bardesanes' Buch an Domnus, in *Mitchells Ausgabe Ephraems* II. 1921, 1—12.

von χώρα ἀεί, aber er will mit dieser Formel das Dauernde des Raumbegriffes, nicht etwa ein Räumliches der Zeit zum Ausdruck bringen.[5] Man wird jedenfalls für das spätere Griechentum und seine Philosophie das Überwiegen des Raumgedankens festhalten dürfen. Ob die biblische Zeitbetrachtung andererseits auf dem Boden des Judentums erwachsen ist, oder östlichen Einflüssen von Babylon, und insonderheit von Persien her, wo eine großzügige Betrachtung der Weltgeschichte in religiösem Sinne von alters heimisch war, ihren Ursprung verdankt, kann hier dahingestellt bleiben.

Neben dies Beispiel einer Veranschaulichung der gleichen Idee im Zeit- und im Raumschema stellen wir ein zweites, scheinbar viel geringfügigeres, das doch diese Beobachtung besonders gut aufhellt. Bekanntlich setzt die eschatologische Betrachtung der Weltentwicklung die Verschlimmerungsidee über die Gegenwart hinaus fort: ehe das ersehnte Heil kommen kann, muß es noch viel schlimmer auf Erden werden, die Not und Drangsal nimmt schließlich einen solchen Umfang an, daß alle Menschen in den großen Untergang hineingezogen zu werden scheinen; doch sollen die Auserwählten zum Heil gelangen. So muß Gott die Drangsalszeiten verkürzen, „sonst würde kein Fleisch gerettet werden“ Mk. 13 20. Hiermit vergleiche man den Gedanken, der sich vielfach in der jüdischen Apokalyptik findet, und der auch bei Mk. 13 14 in der Ermahnung zur Flucht in die Berge Ausdruck gefunden hat: daß es irgendwo auf Erden eine Freistatt gibt, wo die Erwählten von Gott geborgen werden, so daß die Drangsal sie nicht treffen kann. Wenn auch in der kleinen synoptischen Apokalypse bei Markus nebeneinander gestellt, ergeben sich doch diese beiden Gedanken der Zeitverkürzung und Freistatt nur als verschiedene Versinnlichungen der gleichen Idee. Die Zuflucht auf dem Berge ist ein verbreitetes Motiv, das zumal in den Flutsagen leicht verständlich ist.[6]

Nachdem so unser Ziel klar gestellt ist, wenden wir uns der

[5] Die zahlreichen Schriften περὶ χρόνων sind Texte chronologischer Art, nicht geschichtsphilosophischer Art.

[6] Noahs Arche bleibt auf dem Ararat hängen, Deukalions Kasten landet am Parnass usw. Vgl. H. Usener: *Die Sintfluth-Sagen*, 1899, Register unter *Landung*.

Betrachtung verschiedener urchristlicher Begriffe zu, um an ihnen die Bedeutsamkeit des Zeit- und Raumschemas zu erproben.

Im Mittelpunkt der Verkündigung Jesu steht die Botschaft: das Gottesreich ist nahe gekommen (ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ Mark 1 15 und öfter). Das ließe sich so verstehen, und aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach würden es Griechen so verstanden haben, daß ein Staat nach Art des Perserreiches oder des Römerreiches seine Grenzen bis nahe an den Standort des Sprechers, das Land Israel, herangeschoben habe, aber für jeden jüdischen Hörer war es von vorne herein klar und wurde obendrein durch die Einführung: „erfüllt ist die Zeit" (πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρός) sichergestellt, daß „nahe" hier in zeitlichem Sinne gemeint sei. Wohl sprach der Prophet von den Nahen und Fernen in räumlichem Sinn (Jes. 57 19, vergl. Ephes. 2 13), aber wenn die Psalmisten bekennen, daß Gott nahe ist denen, die ihn anrufen (Psalm 145 18, vergl. 119 151), so ist dabei weniger an die Allgegenwart als an Gottes rasch einsetzende Hilfe gedacht, man vergleiche Psalm 34 19: „der Herr ist nahe bei denen, die zerbrochenen Herzens sind und hilft (LXX σώσει) denen, die ein zerschlagen Gemüt haben", Psalm 85 10: „seine Hilfe ist nahe denen, die ihn fürchten" (das heißt: er wird ihnen bald helfen). Klar ist die zeitliche Beziehung in den Wendungen vom Tage des Herrn, zum Beispiel Jes. 13 6; Ez. 10 6; Joel 1 15; 3 14; Obad. 1 15; Zeph. 1 7; 1 14. In diesem Sinne redet auch das Urchristentum davon, daß der Herr nahe ist Phil. 4 5; das ist nicht gemeint im Sinne des „Siehe ich bin bei euch alle Tage bis an der Welt Ende" Matth. 28 20, vergl. 18 20, sondern in dem zeitlichen Sinn der Parusie-Erwartung. Der Tag naht Hebr. 10 25, die Parusie des Herrn naht Jak. 5 8, das Ende von allem naht 1. Petr. 4 7, „jetzt ist das Heil näher, denn da wir zum Glauben kamen" Röm. 13 11. Der Gedanke des ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ wird bei Matth. 12 28, Luk. 11 20 durch ἔφθασεν überboten, das zwar auch ein räumliches Verständnis zuläßt (vergleiche überholen), aber hier deutlich im Zeitsinn gemeint ist: nicht nur nahe gekommen, sondern schon da sein. Dem Begriff des Nahekommens entspricht der des Kommens, so vor allem in der 2. Bitte des Herrengebetes ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, auch dieses Kommen ist aus der Sphäre des Räumlichen

ganz in die des Zeitlichen übertragen; man darf nicht fragen woher und wohin, sondern nur wann (vergl. Luk. 17 20). ἔρχεσθαι kommen ist in der prophetischen Sprache ein technischer Ausdruck für Herbeikommen des Gerichtstages, im Neuen Testament haben wir neben diesem Gebrauch ἔρχεσθαι als Ausdruck der sehnsuchtsvollen Erwartung des Heils: *μαρανα-θα*, gleichviel ob es heißt, der Herr kommt, oder: Herr, komme. Diese Bitte der Gemeinde Apok. 22 17 findet ihre Antwort in dem „Ja, ich komme bald", ὁ ἐρχόμενος ist geradezu gleichbedeutend mit „der erwartete Messias" (Matth. 11 2; Luk. 7 19). *Haolam habba* wird bald übersetzt ὁ αἰὼν μέλλων, bald mit ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος; es entspricht unserem deutschen zukünftig.

Der gleiche aus dem Räumlichen ins Zeitliche gewendete Gedanke liegt auch dem Begriff der Sendung zugrunde. Hier darf man, wenn Jesus von sich sagt „ich bin gesandt", nicht fragen woher, weder wenn es heißt ἐπέμφθη, noch bei ἐξαπεστάλη; es kommt nur auf das von wem an. Der Begriff, der auch auf die Propheten des Alten Bundes Anwendung findet, bezeichnet das göttlich veranlaßte Auftreten in der Geschichte, zunächst ganz ohne räumliche Nebengedanken (doch vergleiche unten).

Wir kommen nun zu dem Hauptbegriff „Gottesreich". βασιλεία als Wiedergabe von „*Malchut*"[7] ist nicht wie bei uns Deutsches Reich ein Raumbegriff gleich Deutschland, sondern es bezeichnet die Zeit, wenn Gott allein herrscht. Der Gedanke geht aus davon, daß in der Gegenwart andere Mächte in der Welt und speziell über Israel herrschen; die Fremdherrschaft der Römer, die Herrschaft der Gottlosen im eigenen Volk, die Herrschaft schließlich des Teufels und seiner Dämonen wird zu gegebener Zeit aufhören und durch die Herrschaft Gottes verdrängt werden. Man darf nicht fragen, wo ist das Gottesreich, sondern, wann kommt es (vergl. Luk. 17 20). Allerdings führt die Antwort Jesu von diesem Zeitgedanken auf etwas anderes hin, wenn er nicht nur die äußere Beobachtbarkeit in Abrede stellt, daß man sagen kann, „siehe hier ist's oder dort", sondern direkt ausspricht: „die Gottesherrschaft ist in euch".

[7] Es ist ein *nomen actionis*, für das κράτησις (Sap. Sal. 6 3) die richtige Übersetzung wäre.

So verlockend es wäre zu übersetzen „unter euch“ und zu verstehen: schon jetzt ist es in eurer Mitte, diese weit verbreitete Auffassung ist ausgeschlossen durch die Wahl der griechischen Präposition ἐντός, die im Unterschied von ἐν μέσῳ gewählt zu sein scheint, eben um die Innerlichkeit zu bezeichnen. Mit dieser aber ist etwas gemeint, was weder in das Raum-, noch in das Zeitschema hineinpaßt, etwas rein Geistiges, die Gottesherrschaft ist da, wo Gottes Wille in den Menschenherzen die bestimmende Macht geworden ist. Freilich finden wir bei Jesus und dem Urchristentum noch zwei Wendungen, die eine räumliche Vorstellung vom Gottesreich zu bieten scheinen, das εἰσέρχεσθαι ins Gottesreich Matth. 5 20; 7 21; 18 3 usw. und das κληρονομεῖν Matth. 25 34; 1. Cor. 6 10; 15 50; Gal. 5 21. Beide werden bezeichnenderweise auch mit dem Begriff des Lebens verbunden; man sieht, es handelt sich um den Empfang des Heils als eines Heilsgutes. Es ist ein Ausdruck für Anteil bekommen, es handelt nicht an sich vom Gottesreich und seinem Kommen, sondern nur von dem Hineinkommen bezw. zum Genuß dieses Heilsgutes kommen des Einzelnen. Beide gehen aus von anderen Wendungen, εἰσέρχεσθαι von dem Eintreten in ein Haus zu fröhlichem Festmahl — das Gottesreich wird oft genug mit einem Hochzeitsmahle verglichen; κληρονομεῖν von der Verteilung des dem Volke Israel verheißenen Landes Kanaan in Losen an die Stämme und Geschlechter des Volkes. So ist κληρονομεῖν schon in der Psalmensprache Ausdruck für das Teilnehmen bezw. Teilbekommen an dem von Gott verheißenen Heil gebraucht und so wird es Matth. 5 5 κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν (Luther irrig: das Erdreich besitzen) nichts anderes bedeuten als das Heil erlangen, völlig gleichbedeutend mit: „das Himmelreich ist ihr“.

Auch diese nur bei Matthäus sich findende Wendung[8] will das Gottesreich nicht irgendwie räumlich bestimmen: sie sagt nicht, daß die Gottesherrschaft im Himmel sei oder vom Himmel

[8] Da Matthäus nachweislich diese Wendung einsetzt, wo seine für uns kontrollierbaren Quellen Markus und Q βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ schreiben, und da er selbst an einigen Stellen diese andere Wendung noch aus seinen Quellen übernommen hat, ist jene dem rabbinischen Sprachgebrauch entsprechende Wendung „Himmelreich“ schwerlich auf Jesus zurückzuführen; sie entspricht der rabbinischen Bildung des ersten Evangelisten.

komme oder himmlische Art an sich habe, sondern Himmel steht hier einfach für Gott, wie neuerdings wohl fast allgemein anerkannt ist.

Was vom Gottesreich gilt, das trifft auf alle anderen Ausdrücke für das Heil zu: *σωτηρία* z. B. ist nicht ein Heilsort, eine Zufluchtstätte, sondern die Heilszeit. Es ist eine völlige Umbildung des Gedankens, wenn in der sogenannten Petrus-Apokalypse der Ort (*τόπος*) der Seligen gezeigt wird. Man redet von einem neuen Himmel und einer neuen Erde (im Anschluß an Jes. 65 17; 66 22; 2. Petr. 3 13; Apokal. 21 1), von dem neuen Jerusalem (Apokal. 3 12; 21 2); in der Endzeit sollen diese offenbar werden. Wenn dabei der Gedanke eines vom Himmel herab Kommens mitwirkt, so ist auch dieser nur Ausfluß einer zeitlichen Idee; was für die Menschen neu, am Ende der Zeiten offenbar wird, ist von jeher bei Gott vorhanden gewesen. Das ist auch der Sinn der himmlischen Behausung, von der Paulus 2. Cor. 5 1 sagt, daß die Christen sie bei der Parusie anziehen werden.

Auch die Erlösung *ἀπολύτρωσις*, die Kindschaft (Adoption) sind Begriffe, die uns in die zeitliche Sphäre weisen.

Am meisten aber kommt das Zeitschema zur Geltung in dem Gebrauch des Terminus *αἰών, αἰῶνες, αἰώνιος*. Das jüdische Denken teilt die Gesamtentwicklung der Welt in Zeitläufte *ôlamim αἰῶνες*. Wo ein Grieche von Weltschöpfung redet (*κοσμοποιία*), kann der Jude sagen *τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν* Hebr. 1 2. Daß etwas gänzlich verborgen war, wird zeitlich ausgedrückt schon in der Formel *ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* Matth. 13 35; 1. Petr. 1 20 u. ö., kann aber auch heißen *ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων* Col. 1 26; Eph. 3 9, *πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων* 1. Cor. 2 7. Die vollendete Anbetung wird ausgedrückt durch: *ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων* Gal. 1 5; Phil. 4 20; Hebr. 13 21; Eph. 3 21; 2. Petr. 3 18; 1. Tim. 1 17; 2. Tim. 4 18. *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* ist im Munde Jesu das Leben in dem zukünftigen, seligen Äon, den man von der Gegenwart, dem *ἐνεστὼς πονηρὸς αἰὼν* Gal. 1 4 unterscheidet, *αἰώνιος* gibt allem, wobei es steht, erst den richtigen Nachdruck, sowohl den Begriffen des Heils *σωτηρία αἰώνιος* Hebr. 2 9, *δόξα αἰώνιος* 1. Petr. 5 10; 2. Tim. 2 10, *λύτρωσις αἰωνία* Hebr. 9 12, *κληρονομία αἰώνιος* Hebr. 9 15, *βασιλεία αἰώνιος* 2. Petr. 1 11, als

denen des Unheils ὄλεθρος αἰώνιος 2. Thess. 1 9, κόλασις αἰώνιος Matth. 25 46, κρῖμα αἰώνιον Hebr. 6 2, πῦρ αἰώνιον Matth. 18 8; 25 41; Jud. 7. Gott selbst ist αἰώνιος Röm. 16 26. Um die Absolutheit auszudrücken, wird gern das Zeitschema verwendet, z. B. Hebr. 13 7: „Jesus Christus gestern und heute und derselbe in Ewigkeit", Offenb. 1 2: „Jesus der erste und der letzte, das Alpha und das Omega". Weniger der Ubiquitäts-, als der Präexistenzgedanke findet sich in den urchristlichen Aussagen über die Bedeutung Christi vor; er ist der Erstgeborene aller Kreatur Col. 1 15; durch ihn hat Gott die Welt gemacht Hebr. 1 2; Joh. 1 1; er war, ehe denn Abraham ward Joh. 8 58: „Vater, verkläre mich mit der Herrlichkeit, die ich bei dir hatte, ehe die Welt ward" Joh. 17 5. Seine Überlegenheit über den Täufer wird in der Zeitenformel gefaßt ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν Joh. 1 15, 30.[9]

Man wird nach alledem feststellen dürfen, wie stark die Zeitidee das Denken des Urchristentums bestimmt. Irgendwelche Spekulationen über die Zeit, wie wir bei den Griechen philosophische Theorien über den Raum fanden, wird man bei der Eigenart urchristlichen Denkens nicht erwarten. Vielleicht aber läßt sich das Eindringen des Raumschemas als ein Gradmesser für die Hellenisierung verwerten.

Noch nicht hierher zu rechnen sind die auf Verinnerlichung weisenden Ausführungen *Jesu*, wenn er von dem Gottesreich „in euch" redet (siehe oben), wenn er der äußeren Verunreinigung die unreinen Gedanken, die aus dem Herzen kommen, gegenüberstellt (Mark. 7 20 ff.).

Ob die Worte vom „bei euch sein" Matth. 28 20 und „in ihrer Mitte sein" Matth. 18 20 wirklich auf den geschichtlichen Jesus zurückgehen, ist fraglich. Jedenfalls hat er letzteres nicht in dem Sinn pantheistischer Allgegenwart gemeint, den der

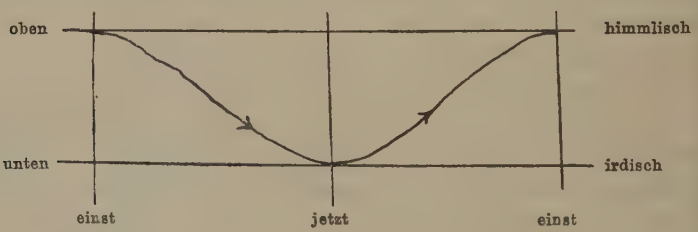
[9] Ich halte für wahrscheinlich, daß in Vers 15 ursprünglich nur stand ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, und diese bildliche Wendung, vom Wettlauf genommen, bedeuten sollte: er hat mich überholt, ist größer geworden als ich, vergl. 3 30, während in 1 30 ursprünglich nur stand ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν. Beide Stellen wären danach einander angeglichen, und so für die erste räumliche Wendung durch die zweite ein zeitliches Verständnis sichergestellt.

bekannte Spruch der ersten Oxyrhynchos-Logia-Serie zum Ausdruck bringt: „wo zwei sind, sind sie nicht ohne Gott, und wo einer allein ist, bin ich mit ihm; hebe den Stein, und dort wirst du mich finden, spalte das Holz und ich bin da". Bei *Paulus* steht neben der stark eschatologischen Orientiertheit seines Denkens die bekanntlich immer mystisch gedeutete Formel ἐν Χριστῷ, in der man hellenistischen Einfluß hat wahrnehmen wollen, der vielleicht noch eher in dem umgekehrten Χριστὸς ἐν ἐμοί (Gal. 2 20) zum Ausdruck kommt. Aber schon das Nebeneinander dieser beiden Formeln zeigt, daß sie nicht räumlich ausgeführt werden dürfen, nur bei ganz geistiger Fassung der Gemeinschaft als einer Gesinnungsgemeinschaft sind beide nebeneinander möglich. Räumlich ist auch die auf die Zukunft gehende Formel σὺν Χριστῷ gedacht, welche von einer das gegenwärtige ἐν Χριστῷ noch überbietenden Gemeinschaft handelt. Auch in dem Bild vom Leib und seinen Gliedern, von dem alle Organe des Leibes bestimmenden Haupt liegen räumliche Vorstellungen zugrunde. Aber man kann nicht sagen, daß die Raumkategorie im Denken des Paulus eine wirklich bestimmende Rolle gespielt habe. Paulus war eben Jude, nicht Hellenist.

Anders schon steht *Johannes*. Allerdings bietet die eine der johanneischen Schichten mit ihrer starken Betonung des Präexistenzgedankens (vergl. oben) ein Beispiel jüdischen Denkens in der Zeitkategorie. Aber bei Johannes treffen wir auf den Gegensatz von oben und von unten (8 23), vom Himmel, von der Erde sein (3 31) und haben wiederholt eine Verwendung des Begriffs Kommen, die zeigt, daß dessen zeitliche Bedeutung verkannt und in eine räumliche umgesetzt ist: von Gott kommen, vom Himmel kommen, von oben kommen, womit dann die Umbiegung des Begriffs der Sendung sich verbindet: statt der prophetischen Sendung die Sendung vom Vater her, vom Himmel her, kurz das Einarbeiten des Präexistenzgedankens auch in diese Begriffsreihen. Wohl spielt der Zeitgedanke eine Rolle in der Ankündigung von Abschied und Wiedersehen „über ein kleines" μικρὸν 16 16, aber schon in der Umdeutung des Parusiegedankens auf die Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen liegt hier eine Umbildung vor.

Am meisten zeigt sich das Ineinandergreifen jüdischer und

hellenistischer Gedanken im *Hebräerbrief*. Sein ganzer Beweisgang ist aufgebaut auf das Zeitschema, zunächst Einst und Jetzt: was das Alte Testament an Kult- und insonderheit an Sühnordnungen bietet, hat nur Bedeutung, sofern es über sich selbst hinausweist auf Christus und dessen einmaliges Selbstopfer. Melchisedek, der Zeitgenosse Abrahams, ist ein Typus Christi. Aber das Jetzt, oder genauer gesagt die irdische Geschichte Jesu, ist seinerseits wieder nur ein Hinweis auf das Einst. Das Christentum selber ist dem Hebräerbrief eine große Verheißung, deren Erfüllung erst die Zukunft bringen wird. Mit diesem zeitlichen Grundschema Einst-jetzt-einst aber kreuzt sich das andere: oben und unten, himmlisch und irdisch. Nach dem himmlischen Typus ist einst die Stiftshütte gebildet (8 5) und auf den himmlischen Hohenpriesterdienst Christi weist die irdische Kultordnung hin. So steht das Himmlische zwar vor dem Irdischen, aber doch gilt das Irdische als Typus des Himmlischen; es kommt zu folgendem Schema:



Das irdische Leben Jesu, die Tage seines Fleisches (5 7), bildet nur eine kurze Episode in der himmlischen Existenz des ewigen Sohnes, und doch ist sein sühnebeschaffendes Leiden grundlegend für sein himmlisches Walten als fürbittender Hoherpriester. In dem Zitat aus Psalm 8 (Hebr. 2 7) wird das ursprünglich räumlich gedachte *m^{e}at* LXX *βραχύ τι* bezeichnenderweise zeitlich verstanden: „nur für kurze Zeit". Die beiden Teile des Heiligtums, das Heilige und das Allerheiligste, entsprechen nach den Gedanken des Verfassers einerseits räumlich dem Diesseits und dem Jenseits. Aber zugleich deutet er sie auf Gegenwart und Zukunft (9 9). So kommt etwas Schillerndes in seine Ausführung. Seine Definition des Glaubens 11 1

verbindet den Zeit- und Raumgedanken, die Gewißheit der Hoffnung und das Überzeugtsein vom Übersinnlichen. Der alte Streit der Ausleger über den Philonischen Einfluß im Hebräerbrief findet darin seine Entscheidung; die Grundlage seines Denkens ist eine geschichtlich-zeitliche, aber ein Einschlag der räumlichen Betrachtung Philos ist vorhanden. Seine Exegese ist Typologie, aber an einigen Stellen drängt sich Allegorie ein. Das hängt damit zusammen, daß der Hebräerbrief eben nicht wie Philo von ewigen Ideen, λόγος usw., sondern von dem geschichtlichen Jesus Christus ausgeht, aber doch weniger an den Jesus auf Erden als an den himmlischen Hohenpriester denkt.

Schließlich findet die ganze Geschichte der Exegese mit ihrem großen Gegensatz von Typologie und Allegorie ihre Erklärung von diesen zwei Denkschemata der Menschheit aus. Die Griechen möchten die ganze Geschichte in eine zeitlose Ideenwelt sublimieren. Die Gnostiker sind die radikalsten Allegoristen; sie deuten alle Züge des Evangeliums auf sich immer wiederholende Erlösungsvorgänge der Überwelt. Je kirchlicher ein Theologe, das heißt, je mehr er sich an die geschichtliche Gottesoffenbarung in Jesus hält, desto schwieriger wird ihm das Allegorisieren; die Allegorie hat nur neben der wörtlichen, geschichtlichen Deutung ihren Platz, und ihr tritt bei den syrischen Theologen die Typologie gegenüber, welche das Geschichtliche in dem Bericht festhaltend nur einen zweiten geschichtlichen Sinn hineinlegt, eine Art prästabilierte Harmonie von Weissagung und Erfüllung. Dabei zeigt sich die Verwandtschaft mit dem Hebräerbrief auch darin, daß die Antiochener das Schema Einst-jetzt fortsetzen mit der Betrachtung Jetzt-einst, indem sie alles gern auf die zukünftige Auferstehungswelt beziehen. Ob es das semitische Blut ist, das in den Adern dieser großen Exegeten der Antiochenischen Schule trotz ihrer meisterlichen Beherrschung der griechischen Sprache unverkennbar floß, oder ob es nur ihr Biblizismus war, der sie in dieser Richtung bestimmte, wer mag es entscheiden? Genug, ihr Verständnis für das Geschichtliche hat uns ein wesentliches Element christlicher Erkenntnis erhalten.

THE DATE OF EZEKIEL 38 1—39 20

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ALTHOUGH a few have thought that these chapters were written later than the time of Ezekiel (see especially the article by Professor Schmidt, *Enc. Bib.*, 4332 f.), nevertheless it still remains the usual view that they were written by that prophet. In view of the peculiar character of these chapters, therefore, the questions of authorship and date may well be considered.

It is generally agreed that Persia, mentioned in 38 5, was unknown to Ezekiel. The explanations of this reference as due to textual corruption or as signifying some other country than Persia are not convincing, they are so evidently attempts to evade a difficulty. The mention of Persia in 27 10 is not parallel, for that is generally regarded as a textual error for Cush, on the very good ground of the closely related passage in 30 5.

Ezekiel could hardly have referred to Meshech and Tubal as living states, 38 2, 3; 39 1, when he had spoken of them in 32 26, 27 as having passed away. In the other reference to these countries in Ezekiel 27 13, as traders with Tyre, Ezekiel evidently had in mind the earlier history.

The phrase בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים, 38 16, usually translated *in the latter days*, but better *in the end of days*, has, in its occurrences elsewhere, a pseudepigraphical implication. It is always used in passages which are directly or by implication attributed to an author earlier than the real one and are descriptive of the actual conditions of the writer's own time and of earlier events leading up to it, or occasionally of the author's expectation for the

immediate future; they consist for the most part of history in the form of prediction. The obvious reason for this is that the prophets who prophesy in their own names emphasize the predictions as growing out of present conditions and hence as belonging to the near future; a pseudepigraphist, on the other hand, is interested to make the apparent predictions seem to refer to a remote future which is actually his own time. This conclusion concerning the use of the phrase is in accord with the consensus of modern opinion concerning the passages where it occurs. The passages, aside from this one in Ez. 38 16, are the following. Gen. 49 1, "And Jacob called unto him his sons, and said: Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the latter days", forms the introduction to the Blessing of Jacob, written not before the time of David which describes conditions in that time. Num. 24 14, "And now, behold, I go unto my people: come, and I will advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days", is an introduction to some of the oracles of Balaam, written not before the time of David, which describe conditions present in the time of the writer. Dt. 4 30, "When thou art in tribulation, and all these things are come upon thee, in the latter days thou shalt return to Jehovah thy God, and hearken unto his voice", is attributed to Moses, and describes repentance after adversity, probably the repentance of the exile, during which it was written. Dt. 31 29, "For I know that after my death ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the way which I have commanded you; and evil will befall you in the latter days; because ye will do that which is evil in the sight of Jehovah, to provoke him to anger through the work of your hands", also attributed to Moses, describes similarly a time of rebellion and disaster, which is that of the writer, probably about the time of the exile. Hos. 3 5, "Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek Jehovah their God, and David their king, and shall come with fear unto Jehovah and to his goodness in the latter days", is descriptive of the time of blessing after the exile and was written in that time, as it is generally agreed. Jer. 23 20, "The anger of Jehovah shall not return, until he have executed, and till he have performed the intents of his heart: in the latter

days ye shall understand it perfectly", practically identical with 30 24, was written later than Jeremiah, and refers to the understanding of God's acts in the later time, which is that of the writer. Jer. 48 47, "Yet will I bring back the captivity of Moab in the latter days, saith Jehovah", is later than Jeremiah, and is an addition to the preceding prediction of disaster to Moab; the improved fortunes of Moab were doubtless present to the writer. Jer. 49 39, "But it shall come to pass in the latter days, that I will bring back the captivity of Elam, saith Jehovah", is similar in every way to the verse concerning Moab just mentioned. Dan. 2 28, in which the phrase is in Aramaic but is a Hebraism, "But there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and he hath made known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days. Thy dream, and the visions of thy head upon thy bed, are these", is introductory to the interpretation of the dream, this interpretation purporting to have been given by Daniel but actually written centuries later. The interpretation of the dream gives, in the form of prediction, the history from the time of Daniel to the time of the writer, with further prediction for the immediate future. Dan. 10 14, "Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days; for the vision is yet for many days", purports to be the language of the revealing angel to Daniel, and the message is of the same nature as in the earlier Daniel passage just mentioned. Is. 2 2, substantially identical with Mic. 4 1, "And it shall come to pass in the latter days, that the mountain of Jehovah's house shall be established on the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills: and all nations shall flow unto it", is directly attributed to Isaiah in the preceding verse. It is generally agreed that this was written after the exile. This probably does not represent actual conditions of the time of the writer but what he expects in the near future. In accordance with this usage which has just been discussed, therefore, this phrase in 38 16 signifies that the writer, while wishing this to be attributed to Ezekiel as a prediction, actually belonged to a later time when the conditions described were either present or expected in the immediate future, apparently for the most part actually present.

The use of the name Gog also indicates a date later than Ezekiel. The popular understanding of this word as the name of a people, the Scythians, is without basis; the writer is very clearly using it as the name of an individual, the prince, that is, king or leader, of various countries or peoples named. In 38 2, 3; 39 1 Gog is called specifically the prince of Rosh, Meshech and Tubal. Whatever the real significance of the name may be, a point which will be discussed later, it is clearly used as the name of the hostile, invading king. But this king is represented as being far in the future at the time of Ezekiel, a fact which appears not only from the phrase *in the end of days* already discussed, but also from the similar unique phrase *in the end of years*, 38 8, and from the other phrase *after many days*, 38 8. Ezekiel could not, in accordance with the general analogy of Old Testament prediction, have given this prediction for the remote future and called the invading king by his name. Of course this might be possible if it was purely a dynastic or official term, like Pharaoh, which is, however, in no way suggested. The phrase *after many days*, it may be noted in passing, is closely analogous to the phrases occurring in Dan. 8 26; 10 14, where the evident purpose is to give the impression that events of the writer's own time had been predicted long before.

Further, the picture of the future presented in these chapters is out of accord with the customary representation in the time of Ezekiel. It comprises a gathering of nations against Judah, an invasion of the land, and a destruction of the invading forces by the direct act of Yahweh himself, without human action. Such a picture of a destruction of hostile forces *in* Palestine by a gigantic catastrophe is unknown to the prophecy of the exile and before the exile. In Ezekiel and the other prophets of about his time and earlier the judgments upon the nations, which are frequent, are represented as coming upon them individually and in their own lands, also in some measure through human instrumentality. Representations like the one here given are found after the exile and are, in fact, apocalyptic, being frequent in the non-canonical apocalyptic books. Conspicuous examples of a similar conception are found in Joel 4 1–3, 9–17 (Eng. 3 1–3, 9–17), probably to be dated not earlier than 400 B. C., and Zech. 14, much later than that.

The general method of presentation in these chapters is also, in some measure, apocalyptic. This appears partly in the use of veiled language, which will be discussed later, and also in the use of exaggeration. The language descriptive of the victory, in particular, is much exaggerated; this applies to the astonishing quantity of the weapons that are used for fuel, 39 9–10; the long time required for burial of the dead bodies, 39 11–15; and the great convulsions of nature, 38 19–23. This quality of extreme exaggeration often appears after the exile, see Is. 60, 65 17–25, 66, all in Trito-Isaiah, Joel 3 3, 4 (Eng. 2 30, 31); Zech. 14 4, and frequently; it becomes of course particularly extreme in the non-canonical apocalyptic books.

The mental attitude toward the earlier prophets in 38 17, also, shows the later, apocalyptic, standpoint. The closest parallel in the Old Testament appears in Dan. 9 2. The writer there was a student of the earlier prophets and obtained from them his message in considerable measure, in a time when the living voice of prophecy was thought to have ceased. The writer in Dan. 9 2 and the following treatment, see especially 9 24, connected his message specifically with that of Jeremiah, to give it the weight of that prophet's authority. The purpose of the writer in Ez. 38 17 is the same, although he does not mention the earlier prophets by name. By general agreement this verse, with a slight textual change, should be translated as a statement, not an interrogation: "Thus saith the Lord Jehovah: Thou art he of whom I spake in old time by my servants the prophets of Israel, that prophesied in those days for many years that I would bring thee against them".

Further, the phrase used in reference to these earlier predictions, 38 17, בִּימֵים קַדְמוֹנִים, translated *in old time*, may be better rendered *in ancient times*, having reference to an indefinite but remote period. It is difficult to find predictions at all parallel to this earlier than Jeremiah. Hence it is an inappropriate phrase in the mouth of Ezekiel, implying a much later time of writing.

The use of other particular words and phrases in these chapters is indecisive. There are some very close parallels in language with Ezekiel, but most of the characteristic phrases of

Ezekiel, as given in Driver's Introduction, are wanting in these chapters. Of course the brief extent of these chapters would make many omissions natural; on the other hand, the resemblances can be explained as due to deliberate intent on the part of a later writer. The style and syntax, however, indicate a time later than Ezekiel. The style is awkward, rough, and involved, the syntax is poor; needed words, especially prepositions, are frequently omitted.

The evidence presented indicates that these chapters were written after the exile and probably late in that period. The time of their composition remains to be considered.

The historical situation which furnishes the background is the first matter needing attention. The prominence of exaggeration in these chapters makes it probable that the description of the nations appearing here is somewhat ideal, so that an exact correspondence need hardly be expected. Nevertheless, the conditions here reflected should give a general idea of the time of the writer, with most, at any rate, of that which purports to be prediction being regarded as a description of the actual time of writing. These chapters indicate, then, that they were written when Palestine was suffering an invasion on a large scale, Jerusalem and the temple, which are here ignored, not being the principal objects of attack. The climax of the picture, however, the destruction of the invading hosts, with its abundance of ideal elements, is doubtless not history but prediction, as in the similar case in Dan. 11 45 where the prediction of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes in Palestine serves as the climax of the preceding historical resumé.

No invasion of Palestine that corresponds even in a general way to this description can be found after the exile and before the Maccabean period. The invasions of Palestine during this time were largely incidental, coming as a result of warfare between adjacent nations. The most serious invasions of Palestine during this period probably occurred during the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, 359—338, see Josephus, *Ant.*, xi, 7, 1, and of Ptolemy Soter, 320; but in these the temple was the particular object of attack.

There remains for consideration the Maccabean period. The

time between 168 and 165 is excluded by the silence of these chapters in Ezekiel concerning the temple. After 161, also, the invasions were less extensive than earlier, probably not sufficiently serious to warrant such a description as appears here.

The invasion between 165 and 161 which corresponds most closely to this description seems to be that of the young king Antiochus Eupator, 162, the king really accompanying Lysias, his commanding general and former guardian, on this expedition. In this campaign the operations were prolonged for a considerable period, Bethsur and Bethzachariah were successively taken by the invaders, and the progress of events was uniformly unfavorable to the Jews until the attack was abandoned by reason of bad news from outside Palestine. The forces of Lysias at this time were extraordinarily large, probably larger than in any other campaign of the Maccabean time, consisting of a hundred thousand infantry, twenty thousand cavalry, and thirty-two elephants. They were gathered from various nations; 1 Macc. 6 28, 29 says: "And when the king heard this, he was angry, and gathered together all his friends, even the rulers of his host, and them that were over the horse. And there came unto him from other kingdoms, and from isles of the sea, bands of hired soldiers". At some time during the progress of this campaign, it seems probable, this message of encouragement was written, it being similar in its general nature and purpose to the messages of encouragement from history written as prediction in the Book of Daniel.

Some further details in the description of these chapters fit particularly well the time of this campaign in 162. The Jews are described as dwelling securely, 38 11, as "gathered out of the nations", 38 12; the land is described as "brought back from the sword", 38 8, and as "gathered out of many peoples", 38 8, the land here evidently meaning the people. As a matter of fact, the Jews in Palestine from 165 to 162 were dwelling in security, the land had apparently been redeemed from the sword of the Syrian power, and the Jews had been gathered in from outlying regions in Galilee and east of the Jordan.

Most of the nations mentioned in these chapters need not be discussed as there is nothing to add to the identifications which

have been suggested by others. The writer of the chapters represents these various nations as included in the invading army. It is probable that some of these nations are to be regarded as the sources of the mercenary soldiers mentioned in the quotation given from 1 Maccabees. It is probable, however, that the writer considered most of them as belonging to the empire of Antiochus. Not all these nations were included in the territory covered by the actual empire of Antiochus Eupator, but all or nearly all had been in the empire of the Seleucidae at some time and hence could be included in an ideal representation, in accordance with the exaggeration characteristic of these chapters. Such a description of the empire uses the veiled language of apocalyptic usage, which was natural at that time.

The name of the king Antiochus Eupator, according to this view, appears here as Gog. The only occurrence elsewhere of the name Gog in the Old Testament, in 1 Chron. 5 4, as the name of a descendant of Reuben, doubtless has no connection with the use of the name here. The name Gog, if given to the king, was used designedly, as a cryptic apocalyptic name.

The only famous Gog known to history was Gyges king of Lydia, the founder of the most prominent dynasty of that country. He was in contact with Ashurbanipal of Assyria at about 661 B. C. The Assyrian form of the name of Gyges is Gugu, the Greek form Γύγης. The Hebrew form גוג is a sufficiently exact Hebrew equivalent of the forms in these languages. More strictly exact, of course, as a Hebrew word would be the form גּוּג, which may equally well have been the original pointing in mind for the Hebrew word here. If Gog was chosen as a cryptic name for Antiochus, it was doubtless because of the actual or supposed likeness of Antiochus to Gyges. The dynasty of Lydian kings founded by Gyges was noted in antiquity for wealth, luxury, and immorality. The wealth of Gyges in particular was proverbial. The resemblance of Antiochus was close in all these particulars. The Seleucidae in general were, if not wealthy, at least greedy of wealth, they were luxurious and immoral.

But would the writer be acquainted with any one so far afield in time and space as Gyges? The fact is that Gyges was a name

unusually familiar in antiquity. He appeared in popular tales and proverbial expressions among the Greeks and Romans, notably in Plato and Herodotus, and in many other writers of more or less eminence down to the early centuries of the Christian era. The Jews would be acquainted with this as well as other similar matters from Greek sources with which they had long been familiar in the Maccabean time. For a treatment of this matter, see K. B. Smith, *The Tale of Gyges and the King of Lydia*, Am. Journal of Philology, xxiii (1902), pp. 261—282, 361—387.

The references to Magog, it should perhaps be noted, while having nothing directly to do with the questions here discussed, are probably not original. These are found only in 38 2 and 39 6. In 38 2 the phrase אֶרֶץ הַמָּגוֹג, perhaps better read אַרְצָה מָגוֹג, is wanting in the parallel v. 3 and is probably to be omitted. It may be regarded as a scribal gloss explanatory of the name Gog. In 39 6 𝔊 reads Gog for Magog, which is to be preferred. The whole of the first part of this verse is better in 𝔊, "And I will send a fire upon Gog, and the isles shall dwell in peace".

Ez. 39 21–29 has little connection of thought or expression with these chapters under discussion. V. 21–22 are not particularly inappropriate with the preceding. But v. 23–29 are dealing with the captivity in a way that is inappropriate for the time here indicated and give no allusions to the thought of these chapters just preceding. It is possible, therefore, that v. 21–22 form the conclusion to the preceding; it is perhaps more probable, however, that they go with the following; in that case the whole of v. 21–29 is quite independent of these chapters. Those verses may be connected with ch. 37.

THE USE OF ἐπιτιμᾶν IN MARK 8 30 AND 3 12

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IN St. Mark's account of the disclosure by Jesus to his disciples at Cesarea Philippi of his Messiahship we find in ch. 8 30 a puzzling use of ἐπιτιμᾶν. In response to Jesus' question: "But whom say ye that I am?" Peter had answered: "Thou art the Messiah". Then it is said of Jesus: καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μηδενὶ λέγωσι περὶ αὐτοῦ, which some scholars take to be equivalent to a denial of all Messianic claim, and would apparently render: "He rebuked them that they should say that about him to nobody". If this is the correct understanding of the verb here, it is a matter of considerable consequence. It would mean that, according to the earliest tradition, Jesus had made no Messianic claim, and had rebuked his disciples for suggesting such a thing. This is important, if true. The word, therefore, merits our careful study. As Jesus' Messianic claim is attested by many other passages in the Gospels, one doubts the correctness of this interpretation.

As is well known ἐπιτιμᾶν meant originally "to show honor to", "to honor"—a meaning found, for example, in Herodotus, 6, 39. Then it was employed in the sense of "set a value or a price upon" something, as, for example, food. From this usage it came to be employed in the sense of "adjudging or awarding a penalty". Finally the meaning last mentioned was extended so that ἐπιτιμᾶν meant "chide", "find fault with", "rebuke", "reprove", "censure severely", "blame", etc. Outside a few passages in the Gospels this is apparently as far as its development went. In the LXX it occurs eight times (Gen. 37 10; Ruth 2 16; Ps. 9 5;

68 31; 105 9; 118 21; Sirach 11 7; Zech. 3 2). With one exception ἐπιτιμᾶν in these passages is a translation of the Hebrew גָּעַר "rebuke". In Sirach it translates גָּנַח, a word which has an even stronger meaning.

In the Greek Papyri from Egypt, so far as I have been able to discover, the verb ἐπιτιμᾶν occurs but once. This is in a letter published in Grenfell and Hunt's *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. X, p. 249. It is a letter from a woman, Taosis, to a man named Dionysius. The latter was, apparently some sort of a custodian of the former's son. She says, "See, I have not imitated you by taking away my son, but if you intend οὕτω αὐτῷ ἐπιτιμᾶν, I shall send Ptolemaeus and take him away. When his father died, I paid on his behalf 1300 drachmae, and expended on clothes for him 60 drachmae. I therefore beg that you will not persuade him to desert me, or I shall take him away and put him in pledge at Alexandria". Here the meaning of ἐπιτιμᾶν is not very clear. Grenfell and Hunt translate it "blame him". It might also be rendered "rebuke" or even "punish". Either meaning would suit the context. Indeed, from the last sentence quoted, it would seem that we might translate it by "prohibit", if we could supply in thought some such words as "from seeing me". Then the sentence would mean, "if you intend to prohibit him from seeing me in this way". That, however, is uncertain. The meaning may be "if you intend to punish him for seeing me". The usage does not afford a clear parallel to the use of ἐπετίμησεν in Mark 8 30.

In favor of the interpretation put upon the word by Schmidt and others is the fact that ἐπιτιμᾶν means "rebuke" in most of the New Testament passages in which it occurs, the majority of which are in the Synoptic Gospels. This is the case in Mc. 1 25; 9 25; 10 48; Lc. 4 35, 39; 8 24; 9 42; Matt. 17 18; 20 31; 2 Tim. 4 2; Jude 9.

In one other passage in Mark ἐπιτιμᾶν appears to have the meaning "forbid" or "prohibit" as it does in Mark 8 30. This is Mark 3 12, where, after unclean spirits are said to have cried out to Jesus, "Thou art the son of God", we have καὶ πολλὰ ἐπετίμα αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸν φανερὸν ποιήσωσι: "he stringently charged them that they should not do it openly". Matthew, in

employing Mark as a source, retains the ἐπετίμα and the construction (Matt. 12 16); Luke, with his more accurate feeling for Greek usage alters the language as follows (Lc. 4 41): καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν, οὐκ εἴα αὐτὰ λαλεῖν: "and rebuking (them), he did not permit (them) to say the things". Similarly the treatment of Mc. 8 30 by Matthew and Luke is instructive. According to the great majority of MSS Matthew (16 20) in using this passage changed ἐπετίμησεν to διεστείλατο. Only in B (first hand) and the Western text is ἐπετίμησεν retained. Luke (9 21), as in the other passage, retains the word, but alters the construction by adding another verb, making it read: ὁ δὲ ἐπιτιμήσας αὐτοῖς παρήγγειλε μηδενὶ λέγειν τοῦτο: "but he, rebuking them, commanded them to tell this to no one".

We have, then, these two clear cut cases in Mark, where ἐπιτιμᾶν evidently means "forbid" or "prohibit", and in handling which the two evangelists who were dependent upon Mark, while feeling in greater or less degree the difficulty, have preserved the evidence both of the reading and of its meaning. Is there any explanation for this? It has occurred to me that the explanation is to be sought in the usage of some Aramaic word. Jesus was speaking Aramaic; Mark is written in Greek. Probably his use of ἐπιτιμᾶν here is an attempt to imitate an Aramaic idiom.

One naturally turns to the Jewish Targums to see whether they afford any clue. They uniformly translate גָּעַר, which the LXX interpret by ἐπιτιμᾶν, by the word נְזַף, the Aramaic form of the late Hebrew word employed by Sirach for "rebuke". This word does not at first sight afford us any help, as no instance has survived, so far as I know, in Jewish literature, where it means "forbid", "prohibit", or "stringently command".

If, however, we turn to the Syriac, we discover the clue we are seeking. Both the Sinai Syr. and the Peshitta (Mark is wanting in the Curetonian) render Mark 8 30: ܘܟܐܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܠܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܐܡܪܘܢ ܥܠܘܗܝ. Similarly in Mark 3 12 the Sinai Syr. reads ܣܓܝ ܟܐܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܗܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܕܥܘܢܗ—a rendering which the Peshitta repeats word for word except that for ܢܫܬܘܕܥܘܢܗ it substitutes ܢܓܠܘܢܝܗܝ. Now this Syriac verb ܟܐܐ, which meant originally, "he cried with a loud voice", and which then was

employed in the sense of "rebuke", "chide", "reprove", is also regularly employed, when followed by ܕܠܐ in the sense of "prohibit", "forbid". Payne Smith, in his *Thesaurus* has noted several instances of the use of the verb in this sense in the works of Ephraem, one in Isaac of Antioch, not to mention other writers cited by him. This gives us the clue we are seeking. Mark, by employing forms of ἐπιτιμᾶν followed by ἵνα μὴ in 8 30 and 3 12 has attempted to imitate a Semitic idiom. He chose ἐπιτιμᾶν, which ordinarily in the κοινὴ means "rebuke", because he had before him in Aramaic a word which ordinarily meant "rebuke". His ἵνα μὴ is an imitation of ܕܠܐ. It is translation Greek. It may be objected to this that the verb ܙܥܪ is Syriac, that it belongs to an East Aramaic dialect, and that we have no evidence that it was employed in Galilean Aramaic of the time of Christ. While that is quite true, it is also true that we have no evidence that it was not so employed.

Even if we suppose, on the basis of the Jewish Targums and Talmud, that the word employed by Jesus was גְּעַר instead of ܙܥܪ, we should be compelled on the evidence presented, to suppose that in Galilean Aramaic גְּעַר, when followed by דלא also had the meaning "forbid", "prohibit", and that this particular use of it has not survived in the Jewish Aramaic documents which have come down to us.

"NINEVEH" IN THE BOOK OF TOBIT

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IN that model of an ancient "short story", the tale of Tobit and his son Tobias, the action shifts between two chief scenes, the great city Nineveh, on the river Tigris, and the Median capital Ecbatana, distant many days' journey to the East. The narrator is sure of his geography—far more so than we are. The main outlines are plain enough, but certain incidental features are obscure and perplexing, the more so, as the versions of the story which have survived show considerable variation, and all are more or less corrupt. The student is especially to be warned against the "received" text, represented by Codex B and its fellows, which has been the standard for centuries. The writer has never doubted, since first studying Tobit with a class, some thirty years ago, that the Greek text which approaches most nearly to the original form of the story is that found in Codex ℵ; the form contained in B representing an abridged recension in which the narrative, reproduced chiefly if not wholly from memory, can be shown to have been constantly "clipped".[1]

[1] Even the longer Greek version represents an abridged form of the story. The original form, certainly Semitic and presumably Aramaic, perished in all probability not long after it was first put forth. We may surmise that the work was preserved in a single Greek translation, as seems to have been the case with the extra-canonical O. T. books in general. At a later date it was taken up again into the Jewish popular literature and circulated in numerous Semitic forms, while among the Christians it also became popular in Greek and Latin versions. As usual in the transmission of literature of this class, reproduction from memory played its important part, and the ever-present tendency to abridge

The longer Greek version of the book, it may be added, is a translation from an Aramaic original, as there is sufficient evidence to show.

The main features of the journey undertaken by Tobias (and his dog) and Raphael were doubtless tolerably clear to the narrator of the story, but aside from the names of the two Median cities Ecbatana and Rages the only details which he gives us are in the neighborhood of the city, the home of Tobit, from which they set out and to which they eventually return. Leaving "Nineveh", they first cross the Tigris *to a city lying immediately opposite* (see below); then proceed for some hours along the river and not far from it, camping on its bank at the end of the first day and catching the fish which proved so valuable. They then leave the river (hence the episode of salting down a part of the fish as provision for the journey) and strike out across the country on their way to the interior of Media.

It is in the narrative of the return that we are given the most important item of information in regard to the location and immediate surroundings of Tobit's "Nineveh". I give here a translation of the passage 11 1–17 according to the text of Cod. ℵ, slightly emended.

> [1]When they drew near to *Kaserin*, which lies opposite Nineveh, Raphael said, [2]"You know how we left your father; [3]let us hasten on in advance of your wife, and make ready the house while they are still on the way". [4]So the two proceeded together, and Raphael said to him, "Take the gall of the fish in your hand". The dog[2] also came with them, following on behind.
>
> [5]Now Anna sat watching the road by which her son should

wrought even greater changes. One striking result of the "clipping" process is to be seen in the passage which is here translated. The sole reason for the introduction of Tobias' *dog* into the story was in order that at the end of the long journey he might rush ahead and by the joyful wagging of his tail announce to the watching mother the approach of the travellers—a truly charming touch, and one that adds not a little to the dramatic completeness of the scene. The episode is wanting, however, in our Greek.

[2] Reading κύων, of course, instead of κύριος.

come.[3] 6As she saw him approaching, she said to his father, "Your son is coming, and the man who went with him!" 7Now Raphael had said to Tobias, before he drew near to his father, "I know that his eyesight will be restored. 8Daub the gall of the fish upon his eyes, and the medicine will have an astringent action and the white film will peel off from his eyes, so that your father will look up and see the light". 9Anna ran[4] and fell upon the neck of her son and said to him, "I see you, my child, now let me die!" and she wept. 10Tobit arose, stumbling as he walked, and came out through the door of the court-yard. Tobias advanced to meet him, 11holding in his hand the gall of the fish, and spurting[5] it in his eyes he laid hold of him, saying, "Courage, father!" 12And the medicine took effect upon him, and stung,[6] 13and with his two hands he peeled off the films from the corners of his eyes. Falling upon his (son's) neck, 14he wept, saying, "I see you, my child, light of my eyes!" Then he said, "Blessed is God, and blessed is his great name, and blessed are all his holy angels. May his great name be over us, and blessed be all his angels forever. 15For he chastised me, yet now I see my son Tobias".

Thereupon Tobit[7] entered the house, rejoicing and praising

3 The impossible words, *καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς*, at the end of vs. 4, were either derived by a copyist's carelessness from the end of vs. 5, or else result from a considerable lacuna in the parent ms. In any case, this is certainly the point where, in the original form of the tale, it was narrated how the dog served as advance messenger (see the note above). Jerome's Latin preserves the incident, but in the wrong place, namely in vs. 9: *Tunc praecucurrit canis, qui simul fuerat in via, et quasi nuncius adveniens, blandimento suae caudae gaudebat.*

4 Reading *Ἄννα ἔδραμεν* instead of *ἀνέδραμεν*.

5 The meaning "blow" for *ἐνεφύσησεν* is hardly appropriate here. The shorter Greek version has "sprinkle", the Syriac "squeeze", and the Vulgate "smear". The Old Latin follows our Greek literally, both here (*insufflavit*) and in 6 9 (where the clause is plainly a later insertion).

6 This verse has been sadly misunderstood. The verb *ἐπέδωκεν* would be quite possible, signifying that the medicine "spread" or "increased in effect"; but the true reading is unquestionably *ἐπέδακεν*, as both the parallels and well-known medical usage show.

7 The context and the phrase "with his whole body" show that the true reading is *Τωβεῖθ*, not *Τωβείας*.

God with his whole body; and Tobias made known to his father that his journey had been prospered: that he had brought the money, that he had taken to wife Sara the daughter of Raguel, and that she was near at hand, close to the gate of Nineveh. 16 So Tobit went out to meet his daughter-in-law, rejoicing and praising God, to the gate of Nineveh. And the Ninevites who saw him passing by on foot, in his full strength and with no one leading him, were amazed. 17 And Tobit confessed before them that God had had mercy on him and had opened his eyes. Then he drew near to Sara, the wife of his son Tobias, and blessed her, saying, etc.

The consistent representation of this section of the narrative is that the city lying opposite "Nineveh" was *immediately* opposite, just across the Tigris and close at hand. As to this there can be no question. The time that elapsed between the separation of Tobias and Raphael from the caravan and the reunion at the gate of the Assyrian capital was an interval to be measured in fractions of an hour. When the two hastening travellers arrive at their goal, they are only a little in advance of the main party. As soon as Tobias has greeted his father and mother, he tells them that the others are already at the entrance of the city (11 15). No reader can doubt, in all this, that the narrator has in mind actual cities with whose location he is familiar.

Now it must be observed that the site of the real Nineveh fails at the crucial points to agree with the plain statements of the Book of Tobit. There was no city just across the river, and other important details are equally at variance with the scene of our narrative, as will presently appear. The only example on the Tigris of two such adjoining cities is the pair Seleucia-Ctesiphon. As soon as the possibility is suggested that this site may have served as the principal scene of the story, several very striking facts come into view. At the time when the Book of Tobit was written, Seleucia was the capital of the kingdom known to the Jews as "Asshur". At that time also the twin cities, Seleucia and Ctesiphon, stood at the point where the great trade-route from Mesopotamia to Media crossed the Tigris. The relative location of the two cities, moreover, is precisely what our story requires.

The *name* of the city lying just across the river from "Nineveh" is given in our Greek as Κασερεΐν; and in some other versions

Map showing the journey of Tobias.

of the book (Old Latin, Bodleian Aramaic, Vulgate, Syriac, Hebrew), doubtless all derived ultimately from the Greek text of which Cod. ℵ is now the best extant representative, more or

less corrupt forms of the same name (Kaserī, אקרים,[8] Charam, Charan, etc.) appear. This has hitherto been a complete enigma, but with the equation "Nineveh" = Seleucia to guide us the probability immediately appears that Κασερειν was originally Κασεφειν (the confusion of ρ and φ in cursive script being a very easy matter), the transliteration of קספין, still recognizable as Ctesiphon.

There is another portion of the narrative by which this hypothesis may be tested, namely the account of the beginning of the journey eastward. In the evening of the first day, Tobias and Raphael halt on the bank of the Tigris and pass the night there (6 2). This fact has given the commentators trouble, for a traveller from the true Nineveh to Ecbatana would not thus come to the Tigris after first setting out. An attempt is generally made to evade the difficulty by supposing that another river, called the "Tigris" by virtue of a loose usage, is intended. Reference to the accompanying map will show, however, that this detail also agrees perfectly with the supposition that Seleucia was the starting point. We are fortunate in having an amount of exact information from Isidore of Charax (of the time of the Emperor Augustus) in regard to the stations and distances along this great highway. I have made use of the edition and discussion of his "Parthian Stations" by Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff, published in 1914 by the Commercial Museum of Philadelphia.

It is evident that Tobias intends to make his journey by the usual trade-route. He hires Azariah (Raphael) as one who from experience is familiar with the way, and they travel in a caravan which includes a number of camels (9 2). The great trade-route described by Isidore of Charax was essentially the same at the time when the Book of Tobit was written, and long before, for its location was determined by the topographical features of the country. The traveller from Mesopotamia to Ecbatana and Rages by the natural road must go through the Zagros mountains by the pass of that name, and then proceed through a second gateway at Bagistana (Behistun). In order to reach the Zagros pass, his route must enter the valley of the Silla river (the

[8] Evidently from (εἰς) Ακερεις, a corruption of (εἰς) Κασερειν.

modern Diala), which empties into the Tigris just above Ctesiphon. The usual route, as almost any map of ancient or modern roads will show, crosses the Silla near its mouth, then proceeds in a northerly direction to about the point where the Tigris and the Silla are only a short distance apart, and then branches; the traveller up the Tigris taking the western fork, while the one journeying eastward turns a little to the right and soon reaches the Silla at about the site of the city Artemita, mentioned by Isidore. *It was at or near the point where the road branches, close to the Tigris, that Tobit and Raphael passed their first night.* Isidore gives the distance from Seleucia to Artemita as fifteen schoeni, or caravan-hours. Our travellers would have covered something more than half of this distance in their first day, which is about what might have been expected of them. This feature also of the narrative, then, perfectly fits the hypothesis that the home of Tobit was Seleucia.

There is good evidence that for a considerable time the true site of Nineveh was not generally known. The words put by Lucian (of Samosata, on the Euphrates) in the mouth of Hermes, in his dialogue with Charon, should perhaps not be stressed, since they are uttered in a vein of exaggeration, but they are nevertheless significant. Hermes replies to Charon (§ 522): "As for Nineveh, my good ferryman, it perished long ago, and not even a trace of it is left; no one could say where it formerly stood". Historians and geographers have remarked with surprise that Xenophon, when he led his army northward along the Tigris, passed close to the site of the ancient capital without having any idea that he was doing so. It need not surprise us, however, that in the last centuries B. C. there should have been various conjectures, and no accepted tradition, as to the location.

As for the Jews, they of course had no special source of information, and were free to make their own conjectures. The theory that Seleucia was built on the site of the ancient capital was most natural. The Talmudic literature has preserved some interesting indications that this was the popular belief. In *Yoma* 10 a, a passage in which the geographical data are indeed somewhat obscure, there are certain express identifications which seem to give us what we are looking for. The Biblical passage

Gen. 10 10 ff. is being interpreted, the account of the first Babylonian cities, and of the founding thence of the primitive Assyrian settlements. The names of the latter are Asshur, Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, Calah, and Resen. For the site of the first of these, Rab Joseph is quoted: אשור זה סליק, *Asshur is Seleucia.* The next three seem to be located in the immediate neighborhood; whether Nineveh is thought of as a part of Seleucia or as immediately adjoining it, can only be inferred from the treatment of the two following names: Rehoboth-Ir is interpreted as פרת דמישן, and Calah as פרת דבורסיף, places on the Euphrates very near to Seleucia, as the name Borsippa shows. Resen is then identified with Ctesiphon, in spite of the contradictory statement that it lay "between Nineveh and Calah".[9] In *Kethuboth* 10 b, where the passage Gen. 2 14 is under discussion, is quoted the same statement of Rab Joseph: אשור זו סליקא, "Asshur is Seleucia".

It may seem fruitless to attempt to gain additional support for the theory from a conjecture as to where the author of the Book of Tobit lived and wrote. Geographical information was easily obtained, in those days of much travel, and the Jewish narrators had plenty of imagination. The characters, scenes, incidents, and religious and literary properties of the book are only such as might have been in the possession of a resident of any part of the then known world. It is noticeable, however, that a number of slight indications—no one of them significant when considered alone—point in the same direction. Students of the book have remarked upon the strikingly consistent way in which the writer places himself in the Diaspora (a vivid imagination could easily accomplish this, to be sure); the typical prayers uttered with the face turned toward Jerusalem; evidence of Magian influence, especially in the part played by the demon Asmodaeus, certainly a more familiar figure in Babylonia or Persia than in Palestine[10] or Egypt; the casual way in which the

[9] It is hardly likely that the *other* Calah (Chala), east of the Tigris, on the trade-route here described, was thought of in this case.

[10] It is worthy of remark that Asmodaeus and his kind do not appear at all in the Jerusalem Talmud. They are introduced in the Babylonian Talmud by the famous Babylonian authorities Rab of Sura and his contemporary Samuel of Nahardea, in the first half of the third century.

story of Achikar is introduced from time to time—certainly more familiar as a household tale in the East than in the West; the interference with the Jewish burial rites; the episode of the dog, not quite so likely in a Palestinian story as in one composed in an eastern land. To this is now added the evidence of familiarity with the trade-route from Babylonia eastward, and especially, of exact knowledge of the immediate neighborhood of Seleucia.

There is one incidental touch in the narrative which speaks strongly against the hypothesis, occasionally defended, that Egypt was the home of its author. In 8 3, when the demon is expelled, he flees "to the uttermost parts *of Egypt*". The natural supposition is that this destination signified to the writer the typical abode of demons and goblins, in a remote and unknown quarter of the earth. Egypt has traditionally been such a land in the folk-lore of Europe and Western Asia, but not, of course, in that of the land itself; and it is obviously as a mere bit of folk-lore that the words are casually thrown in. From a writer's indication of what is to him a far-distant region we can infer something, even if the inference is only negative, as to the region where he wrote. Thus, in the Arabic story of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves, published by Macdonald in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1910, when the narrator (p. 337, line 10f.) contrasts the districts of Syria with "the uttermost parts of North Africa", Nöldeke very justly draws the inference (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 28, 251), supported by other evidence, that he is contrasting his own home with what he had been wont to regard as one of the ends of the earth.

The evidence before us certainly seems sufficient to show that the "Nineveh" of the Book of Tobit was Seleucia; and it may perhaps be added as a probable corollary, that the tale was written by one of the Jews of Babylonia. The citations from the Babylonian Talmud, above, show the great historical importance attached to Seleucia and Ctesiphon by the Jews of that region.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOHN PUNNETT PETERS

COMPILED BY

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FROM the wide range of writings of our late fellow member, Dr. John Punnett Peters, the following selected bibliography has been made. It has been the intention to mention only such works as are in the field of this Society's special interests.

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BRIEF COMMUNICATION

Cherubim

WHEN in 1880 Lenormant (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, I, 118) claimed to have found on an ancient talisman the inscription: "*kirubu damḳu*" (a reading where the wish was father to the thought), scholars began to discuss the Babylonian origin of the biblical Cherubim. On the one hand, Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?*, 150 ff.) and Zimmern (*KAT*^{3} 529 f.; 631 f.) maintained the identity of the Cherubim with the Assyrian lion and bull colossi; on the other, most scholars refused to adopt this view. As long as the Assyrian texts yielded no word of the same root and with a similar meaning, the discussion could lead to no results. Three Assyrian texts, which have been published since 1911, contain such a word and permit a restatement of the question on more solid foundations.

The first one is an account of Esarhaddon's restoration of the Aššur temple built by Šalmaneser (Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts: WVDOG* xvi, No. 75; cf. Meissner, *OLZ* 14, 476; Waterman, *AJSL* 31, 251). After rebuilding the old structure, Esarhaddon made gates of fragrant cypress (covered with gold plating) and doors for the shrine of Ašur embossed with gold, and put them in place. His account adds: "A *Laḫmu* and a *Kuribi* of brilliant *ṣariru* I set up side by side (of the gate)" (*^{il}laḫmu ^{il}ku-ri-bi ša ṣariri ruššū idi ana idi u[l-z]iz:* obv. 24).

The second text is Harper, *Letters*, No. 1194 (cf. Klauber, *AJSL* 30, 273): "Two statues of the mighty kings, 50 statues of *ku-ri-bi*, statues of clay, of silver, 3 thresholds of silver, one *ruḳḳu* of silver: this work (?) is done" (obv. 13—15).

The third text is Harper, *Letters*, No. 1413, whose defective state makes it unintelligible to me; although it yields no connected sense it is very significant in this connection: obv. 3: the statues of the gods of the city [...] 4: Ištar etc. 8: *ilku-ri-bi* [...] rev. 1 the mighty Lamassu etc.

It appears from these texts that the *Kuribi* belonged to the class of the Lamassu and the Laḫmu, without being identical with either. Like the winged bull and lion colossi, it was represented both in colossal form and placed at the door of the temples, and in miniature replicas manufactured by the dozen. Botta found small copies of the statues of protecting spirits (*Monument de Ninive*, Table 153).

In the Old Testament the Cherubim had wings (Ex. 25 20; 1 Ki. 6 24–27 et passim), one face (apparently human) (Ex. 25 20), human hands (Ez. 1 8; 10 7, 8, 21); they were connected with the Tree of Life (Gen. 3 24) and with the palm trees and open blossoms carved on the walls of Solomon's temple (1 Ki. 6 29; 7 29, 36) and of the ideal temple described by Ezekiel (41 18–20).

Assyrian sculpture furnishes numerous representations of a divine being with human figure and wings. Botta found such protecting spirits standing at the gate of the palace on both sides of the bull colossi (*Monument de Ninive*, Tables 30 and 42); we see them, with pine cones in the right hand, fertilizing the sacred tree (e. g. Gressmann, *Texte und Bilder*, ii, 83). The identification of these angelic beings with the Cherubim seems inevitable and, although the documentary proof is lacking, their name must have been *ku-ri-bi*. The root of *kuribi* and, ultimately, of cherubim, seems to be the Assyrian *karābu* (to bless): these blessing or protecting spirits were akin to the guardian angels. They were represented with one hand lifted in the act of blessing (Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 33). Guardian angels were not unknown to the Assyrians, for in a number of letters (Harper, *Letters* 113 (*sic!*), 427, 453, 778, 779, 1133) we find the wish: "May the gods appoint at the side of the king a guardian of peace and life" (*maṣar šulmi balāṭi*) (cf. Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel*, i, 69; Behrens, *Assyrische Babylonische Briefe*, 40[4]).

Harvard University ROBERT H. PFEIFFER

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1921.

THE fifty-seventh meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis was called to order by President Fullerton at 11.00 a. m. on Wednesday, December 28th, 1921, in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. Reports of the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary, and the Treasurer were read and accepted. The President appointed committees as follows:

To audit the Treasurer's account, Professors Sanders and Moulton.

To nominate officers for next year, Professors Montgomery, Torrey and Schmidt.

To prepare memorial resolutions, Professors Bewer, Fullerton, Gottheil, Kyle, Montgomery, Morgenstern.

The Secretary was requested to forward a vote of thanks to the Jewish Theological Seminary for their hospitality.

The Report of the Committee on the Cataloguing of Biblical Manuscripts in America, was presented by Professor H. P. Smith. It was voted that a preliminary list of Biblical manuscripts in America be published in the Journal of the Society.

It was voted that the Publication Committee be authorized to prepare an index to volumes 21 to 40 of the Journal.

Professor Bewer reported on behalf of the Committee on Arrangements.

Professor Cadbury reported on the work of the Membership Committee. This report was approved and the Committee appointed to continue another year.

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By I. J. Peritz: The Beginning of the Ethical Element in Hebrew Religion.

By B. A. Elzas: Determinative Words in the Hebrew Language.

Wednesday Afternoon, December 28. The Society convened about 2.00 p. m.

A paper was read by Professor P. Haupt on Maschil and Shiggaion.

The following memorial resolutions were read and adopted by the Society, having been prepared by the Committee appointed for that purpose.

"Among the unusual losses sustained by the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis during the past year is the death of Rev. George Frederick Wright, D.D., LL.D., F.G.S.A., Professor Emeritus of the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology and editor of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. It is fitting that a memorial resolution should be placed upon our minutes concerning a life at once so noble in achievement, so helpful in influence, so modest in bearing.

Dr. Wright was born January 22, 1838, and died April 20th, 1921, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He became a member of our Society in 1885, only four years after its founding and belonged to the generation of pioneers. Only eighteen members of the Society still living have had a longer connection with it than did he. Perhaps no one of our colleagues has led a more varied, more romantic or more useful life than Dr. Wright. His first field of work was in the stony soil of a small Vermont parish. But he made it yield bountifully, for it was there that he became interested in Glacial Geology. This was to be the absorbing interest of his life and for his achievements in this branch of science he will perhaps be longest remembered. What Dr. Wright accomplished for the freedom of scientific investigation should not be forgotten, least of all by this Society. The first work referred to in the extensive Bibliography of his publications which brought him to the attention of some of the leading scientists of his day, such as Asa Gray, was an article on "The Ground of Confidence in Inductive Reasoning", published in the *New Englander* in 1871. At that time Darwinism was the storm centre of theological controversy in this country, and it took

much courage even to seem to take a sympathetic attitude toward it. Yet in 1875, Dr. Wright published a series of articles in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* in which Darwin's theories were given so fair and objective a presentation that Darwin himself, in a private letter to the author, spoke of it as "powerfully written and most clear". His interest in Geology led later on to Dr. Wright's extensive travels over the world. He was the first to give the Muir Glacier a careful study, only a few years after its discovery. He was wrecked on an expedition to Greenland, where he went to study the ice-fields. In 1900, at the age of sixty-three, he made a journey across Asia. He left Pekin the day before the Boxer advance on that city, and travelled 1400 miles of his journey, from Omsk into Turkistan, in a *tarantass*, a native vehicle without seats. The fruits of his various researches and expeditions are garnered in such books as his "*Ice Age in North America*" and his "*Man and the Glacial Period*" originally presented in lecture form in two of the three Lowell Institute Courses which he was invited to give. Both of these works have had a very large sale and gained for their author an international reputation. The revision of the former book for the sixth edition was completed by Dr. Wright only a few months before his death. In this connection his work for the Pennsylvania Geological Survey in 1881 and for the U. S. Geological Survey in 1884—92 should be noticed. As a member of the latter survey, he did exceptionally important work in tracing the glacial boundary in the Middle West.

Largely in recognition of such work he was made President of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society in 1907, a position he held for twelve years. One very pleasing side of Dr. Wright's varied interests and attainments was his love of good music. On his Russian trip he became much interested in Russian ecclesiastical music and brought back with him the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom set to music by Tschaikowsky. Dr. Wright made a translation of this version, which was published in Moscow. According to Professor Dickinson of Oberlin, "this was one of the beginnings, if not the actual beginning, of the introduction of the music of the Russian Church to the attention of American musicians". Meanwhile this

indefatigable man was teaching in the chair of New Testament Language and Literature in Oberlin (1881—92) and in the Chair of Harmony of Science and Revelation, a professorship especially created for him (1892—1907), while from 1884 to the very end of his life he was editor-in-chief, for most of the time the sole editor, of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, the oldest theological quarterly with a continuous history, in the United States. Dr. Wright represented a conservative position in his theological outlook. Through his journal he carried on a manly and able defense of his views, which he held with great sincerity but with a fine toleration for those who differed from him, a trait unfortunately rather unusual in theological controversy. But nothing less was to be expected from Dr. Wright by those who knew him.

Dr. Wright has seldom been able to be present with us in these later years, and his achievements, lying as they do to a considerable extent outside the immediate interests of our society, may not be so well known to our younger members. But if they would read that really charming autobiographical sketch, "*The Story of My Life*" which faithfully reflects the writer's character in the framework of an era in our national life that has almost ended, they would be glad to realize that one so gentle and so true had graced our fellowship.

Dr. Wright represented the finest type of our New England Congregationalism, a very definite and distinguished culture in our many-sided American life. Refined, of almost child-like simplicity, yet with a dignity of character that sprang out of a piety deeper than any form, his life has meant much to many thousands of his contemporaries and the memory of his sterling virtues is a grateful legacy to his personal friends."

מחר חדש ונפקדת כי יפקד מושבך

"Tomorrow is the new moon and thou wilt be missed, for thy seat will be empty."

"These words, spoken by Jonathan to his beloved David, come to our mind, as at this our annual gathering we think of our friend Morris Jastrow and see his empty seat. For the first time in many years he does not answer to his name. The Great Master has summoned him, and he has obeyed. We, his colleagues,

miss him; and in words of affection we desire to voice our appreciation of him and the honor in which we hold his memory.

We think of him as a scholar, thorough in preparation, sound in method, broad in sympathy, bold in vision, constructive in research and reliable in conclusion. He illumined many a dark spot; and in every province into which his investigation led him he laid a firm foundation of knowledge and of method, upon which those who come after might build. In the fields of Arabic, Assyrian and Sumerian philology, in Assyrian and Babylonian religion, folk-lore and law, in Biblical Science in its various ramifications, in the History of Religion in its manifold phases, he showed himself the faithful, patient student and the competent master. To all these sciences he contributed abundantly, he advanced and expanded them for our greater knowledge and our clearer comprehension.

But he was more than a mere objective scholar. He was a teacher, promoter and disseminator of knowledge as well, whose kindly word and whose helpful suggestion again and again revived a flagging interest and stimulated a drooping self-confidence. We think of him as the loyal member of many organizations and societies, furthering their progress and enlarging their activities and usefulness. And at this moment we think of him particularly as a fellow-member of our own Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, a regular attendant at all meetings, a helpful and kindly critic, a genial participant in all discussions, a devoted worker, a faithful officer, a wise administrator, a beloved comrade and friend.

Yet we rejoice too in the association that has been ours, in the friendship that has been given to us, in the knowledge with which he enriched us, and in the inspiration which his life offers unto us. Of him the words of Proverbs may be said in all truth:

זכר צדיק לברכה

The memory of the righteous is for blessing."

"With Dr. John P. Peters one of the most notable American scholars has passed from us. He was born in New York City, Dec. 16, 1852, educated in Yale College, Divinity and Graduate Schools, where he won his Ph. D. in 1876. After spending three

years as tutor in Latin and Greek at Yale, he went to Germany for further study and stayed from 1879 to 1883. On his return he was appointed Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature in the Philadelphia Divinity School in 1884, and Professor of Hebrew in the University of Pennsylvania in 1886. His heart belonged to the study of the Old Testament and he did everything he could to further it. In conjunction with his fellow-student, the late President W. R. Harper, he established a Hebrew Summer School in connection with the Divinity School and published a translation of the Old Testament in his *Scriptures, Hebrew and Christian* (1886, '89). His eager mind was full of great projects. His study in Germany had showed him the value of excavations in Assyria and Babylonia for the elucidation of the Old Testament. As early as 1883 he secured funds from Miss Katherine Lorillard Wolfe for the sending out of an expedition under Dr. William Hayes Ward by the American Institute of Archaeology. In 1888, he himself sailed as Director of the first expedition of the University of Pennsylvania for excavations at Nippur in two campaigns in 1888 and '90. The story of this expedition Dr. Peters published in two volumes. *Nippur: or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates* (1896). After his return in 1890, he resumed his professional duties, but in 1891 he resigned his professorship in the Divinity School when he became assistant rector, and in 1893 his professorship in the University, when he became rector of Saint Michael's Church in New York, as the successor of his father and of his maternal grandfather. The University of Pennsylvania honored him with the Sc. D., and Yale University with the D. D. in 1895. Though burdened with the duties of a large city church and actively engaged in social and political work, Dr. Peters always found time to pursue his beloved Old Testament and Oriental studies. In 1901 he published the *Old Testament and the New Scholarship*. In 1902, he visited Palestine with Dr. Hermann Thiersch, of Munich, with whom he published a study of the remarkable painted tombs at Marissa, under the title *Painted Tombs from the Necropolis of Marissa* (1905). In 1904 he published his lectures on *The Early Hebrew Story* and in 1914 his important *Religion of the Hebrews*. In 1919 he gave

up his rectorship at St. Michael's and in 1919—20 he was again in Palestine as a lecturer in the American School of Oriental Research and busily gathering material for the elucidation of the Psalms to which he had devoted much study for years. In 1920, he went to the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., as Professor of New Testament Exegesis. In the winter of 1920—21, he gave his Paddock lectures at the General Theological Seminary, New York City, which embody the results of his work on the Psalms. They are now to be published under the title *The Psalms as Liturgies*. That same year he delivered the Bross Lectures at Lake Forest College on the history and religion of the Hebrews. They also are soon to appear under the title of *Bible and Spade*. Both series he himself prepared for the press before he died, "though dead, he yet speaketh". On November 10, 1921, he died at the Presbyterian Hospital, New York, from heart disease after an illness of three weeks.

The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis has lost in Dr. Peters one of its most active and valuable members. His frequent contributions at its meetings and in its Journal were marked by keen and independent thought, for he was an explorer in every way. We shall miss his wise counsel, his stimulating discussion, and his genial presence. But we are proud of having had him in our membership ever since 1883."

It was voted that a copy of each minute be sent to the relatives of the deceased.

The Presidential Address on Points of View in the Discussion of Isaiah's Hopes for the Future was read by Professor Fullerton.

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By G. A. Barton: The Trial of Jesus Before the Sanhedrin.
By D. Levine: Maschil Psalms.
By P. Haupt: "Casting All Your Care Upon Him."

Wednesday Evening, December 28. The Society convened about 8.00 p. m.

Papers on Archaeological subjects were presented according to the following program:

*By W. J. Moulton: Report on the American Schools of Oriental Research.
By M. I. Hussey: Report of the Field Secretary.
*By A. T. Clay: Prospects of Babylonian and Assyrian Archaeology.

*By G. A. Barton: Weill's Excavations on the Ophel Hill, Jerusalem.
*By J. A. Montgomery: Recent Excavations in Palestine.

* Illustrated with the Stereopticon.

Thursday Morning, December 29. The Society convened about 9.30 a. m.

At the request of the President, Professor Porter had arranged a Symposium on Eschatology, in accordance with which the following papers were read and discussed:

By N. Schmidt: The Origin of Jewish Eschatology.
By A. V. W. Jackson: The Question of Persian Influence on Jewish Eschatology.
By L. Ginzberg: The Place of Apocalyptical Literature in Judaism from the Book of Daniel to 135 A. D.
By E. F. Scott: The Place of Apocalyptical Conceptions in the Mind of Jesus.
By B. W. Bacon: "The Son of Man" in the Usage of Jesus.
By F. C. Porter: The Eschatology of Paul.

Thursday Afternoon, December 29. The members met about 2.00 p. m.

The report of the Council was presented by Professor Cadbury. This report was approved and the persons nominated for membership were elected. The following nominations presented by the Nominating Committee were accepted as the officers for 1922:

Prof. W. R. Arnold	*President.*
Prof. M. L. Margolis	*Vice-President.*
Prof. H. J. Cadbury	*Recording Secretary.*
Prof. T. J. Meek	*Treasurer.*
Prof. C. R. Bowen Prof. A. T. Clay Prof. J. A. Kelso Prof. W. N. Donovan Prof. I. F. Wood	*Associates in Council.*
Prof. W. J. Moulton	*Representative on the Corporation of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*

A vote of thanks was passed to those who had prepared and participated in the Symposium.

A vote of thanks was passed to Columbia University for the use of the lantern which they had kindly loaned.

A report of the Auditing Committee was accepted.

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By C. C. Torrey: The Prediction of the Destruction of Tyre in Ezekiel 26.
By O. R. Sellers: The Locusts in Joel.
By R. H. Pfeiffer: Cherubim.
By F. P. Ramsay: A Plan for a Commentary.
By G. R. Berry: The Date of Ezekiel 38 1—39 20.
By M. L. Margolis: (a) Gen. 4 1b: read *'et 'adoni*. (b) *Sabaôth* Ketib, *tôn dunameôn* Kere. (c) Are our oldest texts of the LXX descended from a Hebrew-Greek Interlinear?
By A. Ahlquist: The Latest Swedish Translation of the New Testament.
By C. R. Bowen: Probabilia Concerning Colossians.
By T. J. Meek: Was Jeremiah a Priest?
By J. A. Montgomery: The Greek Texts of Daniel.
By D. Levine: Meaning of Genesis 49 22-24.
By B. A. Elzas: A Note on Eccles. 8 10.
By G. A. Barton: The Meaning of *epitimân* in the Gospels.
By P. Haupt: (a) The "Compendium of Eschatology". (b) Mixed Metres.

Adjourned at 4.30 p. m.

HENRY J. CADBURY, *Recording Secretary.*

REPORT OF RECORDING SECRETARY

The membership reported at the meeting of this Society in 1920 was 239. The losses through death or resignation have been 21. The accessions to membership have been 48; members elected by the Society who have qualified as members in 1921, numbering 21; members elected by the Membership Committee who have qualified as members this year 27. Apparent total membership to date 266. It is likely that many others elected by the membership committee in the last few weeks will qualify as members next year.

Three regular members of the Society have died during the year:

Professor George Frederick Wright died April 20th.
Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr. died June 22nd.
Professor John P. Peters died November 10th.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY J. CADBURY, *Recording Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

To the Members of the Society of Biblical Literature:

Since your last meeting it devolved upon the Editors of the Journal to issue volume XXXIX for 1920, which is now in the hands of members and subscribers. The first two quarterly numbers of volume XL for the current year should be on the way; the final proof was read and instructions sent to the Printer to issue the numbers; the delay is incomprehensible and regrettable. There is further material in the hands of the Printer for the forthcoming numbers and additional material has been passed on by the Editors and will be ready for delivery to the Printer shortly. In addition, volume XXXIV for 1915 is being reprinted, and I have received 64 pages of proof. Compared with the slow progress of printing from manuscript copies, frequently imperfectly prepared and necessitating many proofs, the speed with which the re-printing is proceeding is encouraging.

I have occupied the Chairmanship of the Editorial Committee since 1914. I have derived great pleasure from my labor in editing the volumes and carrying on the correspondence, highly edifying in dealing with contributors, somewhat less satisfactory in conveying our wishes to the Printers. The time has come when the Editorial Committee should be reconstituted and myself relieved from duty. The incoming Committee will be aided by my colleagues and myself in taking up the work where we let go, and we wish them success in their task.

Max L. Margolis, *Corresponding Secretary.*

TREASURER'S REPORT, 1921

Receipts

	Balance carried forward	$ 452.70
Jan. 1,	Interest, Savings Bank	12.54
July 1,	Interest, Savings Bank	10.46
Mar. 14,	Yale Press Balance	290.38
	Dues	771.60
		$ 1537.68

Disbursements

1920		
Dec. 27,	Stereopticon at 56th Meeting	$ 12.00
1921		
Jan. 5,	National Tradesmen's Bank for M. 20,000	280.30
„ 10,	Shea Brothers, for programs and post cards	19.75
„ 10,	H. J. Cadbury, Expenses	14.39
„ 10,	New Haven Printing Co., Bills for Treasurer	4.00
Feb. 28,	Yale University, Clerical help and postage	5.08
Mar. 9,	Postage, Treasurer	2.24
May 2,	Yale Press, Programs	9.60
May 23,	M. L. Margolis, Cable to Drugulin	5.07
June 24,	Exchange on Toronto Bank	1.28
Aug. 10,	Postage, Treasurer	1.75
Sep. 10,	National Tradesmen's Bank for M. 20,000	230.25
Nov. 7,	H. J. Cadbury, expenses	13.46
„ 7,	H. J. Cadbury, printing for Membership Committee	4.75
Dec. 2,	Exchange on Canada check	0.30
„ 16,	Stamped Envelopes, Treasurer	11.23
„ 24,	M. L. Margolis, Postage and Clerical Expenses	48.70
		$ 664.15
„ 27,	Cash on hand	
	Savings Bank 733.36	
	Checking Account 140.17	873.53
		$ 1537.68

In addition, there stands to our credit in the Deutsche Bank, Berlin, M. 51,899.

Respectfully submitted,
GEORGE DAHL, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct
F. K. SANDERS
W. J. MOULTON

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CONSIDER THE SUBJECT OF A CATALOGUE OF BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THIS COUNTRY

Your Committee have the honor to report that at a meeting held in April last it was decided that the first step would be to find out what manuscripts are in this country. They therefore sent out about four hundred copies of a questionnaire asking for information. These were sent to all the theological seminaries, to the principal public libraries, the leading universities and such private collectors as were known to be interested in the subject. We received a large number of replies, the majority indicating that the library in question had no Biblical manuscripts. From the affirmative replies we learn that we can locate over fifty Hebrew Manuscripts (besides a number of Geniza fragments), thirty eight of the Latin Bible, twenty three of the Greek New Testament, eight of the Greek Old Testament, seven Syriac, five Ethiopic, four Samaritan, six Armenian, five Targums, five Arabic, one Coptic and one Slavonic.

Some, but by no means all, of these are described in the following publications: and on the other hand some of those in the published lists are not included in the number mentioned above.

Mitchell, *Critical Handbook of the Greek New Testament* (1896).
Harvard Theological Studies, No. IV.
Goodspeed, *Greek Gospel Texts* (*Historical and Linguistic Studies Relating to the New Testament*).
Michigan Studies, Vols. 8, 9, and 10.
Sitterly, *Praxis in Manuscripts of the New Testament.*

It should be noted that there are a number of manuscripts in private hands which have not been described by the owners. The owners have, however, indicated their willingness to have these examined by competent persons, if it shall be found feasible to prepare such a catalogue as is in the mind of the Society.

It seems to your Committee that it would be perfectly feasible to prepare a catalogue if the members of the Society are self-sacrificing enough to give the time necessary to describe the various manuscripts. Some rule should be adopted whereby the

data should be the same in all cases. The details should in each case include size of the manuscript, both size of page and number of pages; the material; the age; the condition; the character of the writing, and the contents, that is what Biblical books or parts of books are included. The expense would probably not be an obstacle, if (as we suppose) the necessary space would not be more than occupied by a single number of our journal.

The whole question is submitted to your consideration, and we shall be glad of any suggestions.

Henry Preserved Smith, *Chairman*
Chas. C. Edmunds
Alexander Marx

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY[1]

HONORARY MEMBERS

Prof. K. Budde, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
Prof. F. C. Burkitt, M.A., Cambridge, England.
Prof. Ernst von Dobschütz, Halle, Germany.
Prof. Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin, Germany.
Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
Prof. Marie Joseph Lagrange, Jerusalem (care of M. Gabalda, 90 Rue Bonaparte, Paris).
Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford, England.
Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., Aberdeen, Scotland.

ACTIVE MEMBERS[2]

(693) '22 Rev. G. Abbott-Smith, D.D., D.C.L., Westmount, Que.
(628) '21 Rev. Prof. Howard C. Ackerman, B.D., M.A., Nashotah, Wis.
(593) '20 Prof. Arthur Adams, Ph.D., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
(496) '13 Miss Charlotte Adams, 135 E. 52d St., N.Y. City.
(242) '92 Pres. Cyrus Adler, Ph.D., 2041 North Broad St., Phila., Pa.
(731) '22 Rev. Abel Ahlquist, Ph.D., New Britain, Conn.
(576) '17 Wm. Foxwell Albright, American School for Oriental Research, Jerusalem, Palestine.
(466) '11 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman, Gettysburg, Pa.
(415) '07 Prof. Frederick L. Anderson, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.
(711) '22 Rev. Prof. S. Angus, Ph.D., St. Andrew's College, Sydney, Australia.
(305) '96 Prof. Wm. R. Arnold, Ph.D., 17 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(724) '22 Rev. J. Cullen Ayer, Jr., Ph.D., S.T.D., 200 St. Mark's Square, Philadelphia, Pa.
(184) '88 Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., 244 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn.
(373) '04 Prof. Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.

[1] This list has been corrected up to Dec. 1, 1921 Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary, H. J. Cadbury, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Mass, of any change of address.

[2] The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

(690) '22 Moses Bailey, A.M., 6 Norfolk Terrace, Wellesley, Mass.
(594) '20 Roland Bainton, Yale School of Religion, New Haven, Conn.
(712) '21 Lieut. C. C. Baker, Box 296, Lancaster, Calif.
(722) '22 Prof. J. F. Balzer, M.A., Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
(210) '91 Prof. George A. Barton, 3725 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(211) '91 Prof. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., 6 Chelsea Sq., N.Y. City.
(614) '21 Prof. Bruce R. Baxter, M.A., Mt. Union College, Alliance, Ohio.
(561) '16 Prof. John W. Beardslee, Jr., Ph.D., D.D., Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N.J.
(694) '22 Prof. Irwin R. Beiler, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
(718) '22 Rev. C. D. Benjamin, Ph.D., 1441 Pine St., Norristown, Pa.
(568) '16 Rev. C. Theodore Benze, Lutheran Seminary, Mt. Airy. Pa.
(570) '16 Prof. Immanuel G. A. Benzinger, Ph.D., Wagner College, Staten Island, N.Y.
(326) '99 Prof. George R. Berry, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.
(318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(618) '21 Pres. James A. Blaisdell, Pomona College, Claremont, Cal.
(613) '21 Prof. F. J. Bliss, 1155 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.
(551) '15 Rev. Joshua Bloch, Ph.D., 16 W. 23rd. St., N.Y. City.
(604) '20 Rev. P.F. Bloomhardt, Ph.D., 134 E. Delevan St., Buffalo, N.Y.
(380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, O.
(423) '08 Prof. Clayton R. Bowen, Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
(370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Ph.D., 289 Fourth Ave., N.Y. City.
(311) '97 Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, 414 Clifton St., Lakewood, N.J.
(569) '16 Mrs. Beatrice A. Brooks, Wellesley, Mass.
(301) '96 Prof. Wm. A. Brown, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(702) '22 Prof. John Richard Brown, Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N.Y.
(102) '84 Prof. M. D. Buell, Garrison Hall, Boston 17, Mass.
(719) '22 Prof. Walter E. Bundy, Ph.D., De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.
(586) '18 Prof. Ernest Ward Burch, Ph.D., Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
(91) '83 Prof. E. D. Burton, D.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(554) '15 Prof. R. Butin, Catholic University, Washington, D.C.
(589) '18 Prof. Moses Buttenwieser, Ph.D., 252 Loraine Ave., Clifton, Cincinnati, O.
(471) '11 Prof. Henry J. Cadbury, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Mass.
(631) '21 Rev. James T. Carlyon, A.M., Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Col.
(472) '11 Prof. Henry Beach Carré, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
(632) '21 William Owen Carver, Th.D., D.D., LL.D., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.
(564) '16 I. M. Casanowicz, Ph.D., National Museum, Washington, D. C.

(392) '06 Prof. Shirley J. Case, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(222) '91 Rev. James L. Cheney, Ph.D., Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, Cleveland, O.
(595) '20 Prof. Edward Chiera, Ph.D., 1538 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(277) '95 Prof. Francis A. Christie, D.D., Meadville Theological School, Meadville, Pa.
(369) '03 Prof. Calvin M. Clark, Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
(414) '07 Prof. Albert T. Clay, Ph.D., 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn.
(68) '82 Rev. W. H. Cobb, D.D., Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.
(523) '14 C. P. Coffin, 1744-208 S. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
(606) '20 Rabbi Simon Cohen, P. O. Box 473, Springfield, Ohio.
(686) '22 Rabbi Simon R. Cohen, 1421 Ditmas Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
(662) '22 David C. Cook, Elgin, Ill. 673 Jefferson Ave, Brooklyn, N.Y.
(615) '21 Mr. Francis T. Cooke, ~~1128 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.~~
(582) '18 Rev. George S. Cooke, Houlton, Me.
(714) '22 Rev. M. Coover, D.D., Lutheran Theol. Sem., Gettysburg, Pa.
(661) '22 Rev. Jesse Lee Cotton, D.D., LL.D., 2225 Douglass Blvd., Louisville, Ky.
(390) '06 Rev. Wm. M. Crane, Ph.D., Richmond, Mass.
(296) '96 Prof. Harlan Creelman, Ph.D., 118 North St., Auburn, N.Y.
(498) '13 Prof. D. E. Culley, Ph.D., 1120 Pemberton Ave., N.S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(573) '16 Charles G. Cumming, B.D., Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
(401) '07 Miss M. Elizabeth Czarnomska, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.
(499) '13 Prof. Geo. Dahl, Ph.D, 1112 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn.
(645) '21 Miss Clara W. Davidson, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
(526) '15 Prof. Israel Davidson, 531 W. 123d St., N.Y. City.
(451) '10 Prof. Richard Davidson, Ph.D., Knox College, Toronto, Can.
(675) '22 Prof. John D. Davis, Ph.D., 58 Mercer St., Princeton, N.J.
(705) '22 M. E. Davis, Th.M., D.D., Howard Payne College, Brownwood, Tex.
(500) '13 Prof. Frank Leighton Day, Ashland, Va.
(458) '10 Prof. Thomas F. Day, Box 126a, R.F.D., San Rafael, Calif.
(633) '21 Prof. John Pitt Deane, M.A., Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.
(524) '14 Prof. Irwin Hoch DeLong, Ph.D., 523 West James St., Lancaster, Pa.
(121) '84 Prof. F. B. Denio, D.D., Bangor, Me.
(723) '22 Prof. H. T. De Wolfe, D.D., Acadia Univ., Wolfville, N.S.
(730) '22 Rev. John Dickie, D.D., Knox College, Duneidan, New Zealand.
(600) '20 Rev. Samuel Dickey, Oxford, Pa.
(619) '21 Rev. Prof. Charles Allen Dinsmore, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
(417) '07 Prof. Winfred N. Donovan, Newton Centre, Mass.

(596) '20 Prof. R. P. Dougherty, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.
(634) '22 Rev. Benj. R. Downer, 1043 Laurel Ave., Kansas City, Kansas.
(664) '22 Rev. George H. Driver, Lansford, Pa.
(659) '21 Rev. Walter Drum, Woodstock, Maryland.
(620) '21 Prof. William Haskell Dubose, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
(700) '22 Rev. Roger A. Dunlap, Harvard Church, Brookline 47, Mass.
(382) '05 Prof. E. Olive Dutcher, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
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✓ Review and Expositor (So. Bapt.),	Louisville, Ky.
Revue Biblique Internationale, 90 Rue Bonaparte,	Paris, France.
Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.	Giessen, Germany
Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft,	Berlin E 2, Schloss, Portal 3.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

This association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Arnold, W. R., Observations on the Origins of Holy Scripture	1
Bacon, B. W., The Reading οἷς οὐδέ in Gal. 2 5	69
— Notes on the Gospel of Mark	137
Bainton, R. H., Basilidian Chronology and New Testament Interpretation	81
Barton, G. A., Some Text-Critical Notes on Job	29
Berry, G. R., Priests and Levites	227
Bowen, C. R., Paul's Collection and the Book of Acts	49
— "I Fought with Beasts at Ephesus"	59
Cadbury, H. J., The Relative Pronouns in Acts and Elsewhere	150
Carré, H. B., Matthew 5 1 and Related Passages	39
Eitan, I., Two Unknown Verbs	22
Flight, J. W., The Nomadic Idea and Ideal in the Old Testament	158
Prentice, S., Elijah and the Tyrian Alliance	33
Smith, H. P., Biblical Manuscripts in America	239
Stearns, W. N., Recently Published Fragmentary Texts of the New Testament: a Summary	135
Wickes, R., Note on Matthew 13 20 and Matt. 6 30 = Luke 12 28	251

Proceedings, December 1922	i
List of Members	vii
List of Subscribing Libraries and Exchanges	xvii
Constitution and By-Laws	xxi

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ORIGINS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE[1]

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JUDAISM, Christianity, and Muhammedanism agree in placing at the foundation of their respective systems a body of writings which they hold to be of divine origin and hence to constitute, for all time, the authoritative standard of belief and conduct. The two younger faiths have, by universal admission, never existed without both the idea of such a revelation and the revelation itself. Christianity accepted full-fledged from Judaism the idea with the thing. From the beginning it taught that God had revealed his will to mankind in certain Jewish writings. It is true that, owing in part to faulty definition in the Synagogue, and in part to the current use of scrolls of limited compass instead of volumes in codex form, Christianity found itself, after the schism, cherishing a few peripheral writings which Judaism failed to approve. Also, at an early date it supplemented the Jewish scriptures with the records and utterances of Jesus and his apostles, to which likewise it yielded canonical dignity. But in the one case as in the other, Christianity was merely adding certain writings to a category already established by Jewish thought and practice. "Holy Scripture" in the Jewish sense of the term, and with a preponderant Jewish content, has always constituted an integral element of Christianity.

In Muhammedanism the situation differs only as regards content. The non-Jewish nationality of its founder, his illiteracy

[1] Presidential address, delivered at the annual meeting of the Society at New Haven, December 28, 1922.

and pagan breeding, his failure to obtain recognition among the Jews of Arabia, resulted in the displacement of the existing Jewish and Christian scriptures by a new revelation. Yet Muhammed operated from the beginning with the conception of a revelation of the divine will and purpose in written form. "The Book" had existed before the Koran. And the idea of a Koran is essentially Jewish. Pre-Muhammedan Arabia had nothing like it. Doubtless there were religious enthusiasts before Muhammed. But he came forward as a *nabi*, a Hebrew religious functionary, with a message cast in the traditional mould of Israelitish prophecy.

In the case, then, of both Christianity and Muhammedanism, the nascent institution found ready to hand a conception which had been developed by their common predecessor: the conception of a body of writing sent into the world by God himself for the certain and everlasting guidance of men. But how came Judaism itself by that conception?

That the answer to this question must be sought in the antecedents of Judaism, in the latter's Israelitish background, rather than in its actual professions, is self-evident. For the Jewish scriptures contain quantities of matter which has no ostensible relation to belief and conduct, whose presence can accordingly be accounted for only on historical grounds. And, in the second place, the question itself is to Judaism almost unintelligible. To Judaism the idea and the thing are inseparable. Except as the passive instrument in the hands of the Creator, the mind of man had at no time anything to do with the making or unmaking of Scripture. From the moment of its coming into existence a writing either was or was not divine, and it remains so for ever. Moreover, like Christianity and Muhammedanism, Judaism thinks of itself as a product of Scripture. It too has never known a time when it did not possess a divine revelation in written form. To be sure, it antedates its own beginnings by several hundred years, and necessarily therefore the first appearance of Holy Scripture. But that merely lends emphasis to the conclusion that an answer to the historical question must not be sought in the domain of Jewish dogma.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that it is the Jewish conception,

transmitted to Christianity and Muhammedanism, that we are concerned to account for. We need not accept the Jewish theory that there is nothing about it to explain, but the starting point of our enquiry must of necessity be that same Jewish conception.

What, then, is that conception exactly? It may be described in very few words. Holy Scripture—our Old Testament—consists of a series of divinely inspired writings extending from the age of Moses, the founder of the nation, to the age of Ezra and Nehemiah, who completed the restoration after the Babylonian exile. Writings are divinely inspired which were produced through the instrumentality of a prophet. Prophets there may have been before the beginning of that period, that is before Moses; but they produced no Holy Scripture. After the close of that period, there were no prophets, and consequently no Holy Scripture was or could be produced. The earliest Scripture was written by Moses; the latest by Ezra and his contemporaries. Thus Scripture consists of one original prophetic writing, supplemented from time to time by additional prophetic writings, until finally the gift of prophecy disappeared from the face of the earth. Judaism knows nothing of any Holy Scripture produced by priests, *qua* priests, or by any other class of persons, however learned or eloquent or righteous or wise, except as they happened to be endowed with the requisite gift of prophecy. In a word, Holy Scripture consists of the writings of the prophets, and of nothing else.

Modern critical study of the Old Testament rejects the Jewish doctrine of the scriptures as consisting, from the first, of successive deposits of inspired writing. Criticism distinguishes between the literary and the canonical history of the Old Testament. It operates with the idea of "canonization," an act or process by which a writing not originally claiming or esteemed to be of superhuman origin and divine authority came finally to be so esteemed. Starting with the rigid tripartite division of the Hebrew scriptures into Law, Prophets, and Writings, it holds that those three divisions represent three successive stages in the canonical process. The Law was Holy Scripture when as yet the Prophets were not; the Law and the Prophets were

Holy Scripture when as yet the Writings were not. According to the prevalent view, the Pentateuch, though it consisted in the main of matter composed at various times before that date, was adopted as authoritative Holy Scripture at the convocation held under the joint auspices of Ezra and Nehemiah in the year 444 B. C., as is narrated in the eighth chapter of the Book of Nehemiah. So that for criticism, Holy Scripture, at least in its present form, begins almost at the very point of time where according to Jewish tradition it ends. Thereafter, for the next two hundred years or more, the Pentateuch alone constituted the canonical Scripture of the Jewish church, although there were other writings in existence, both prose and poetry, which as regards their composition were quite as old as anything in the Pentateuch. About 200 B. C. the second stratum or canon was "canonized," consisting of the historical books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, and the prophetical books in the narrower sense, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve. Thereafter again, for the next two hundred years or so, Holy Scripture consisted of the Law and the Prophets, but with a constantly growing sentiment in favor of the recognition of the third group of writings, the Hagiographa. And about the beginning of the Christian era—perhaps a little earlier, more probably a little later—this process had resulted in the "canonization" of the third group. All of the writings of this group had been moving along the path pretty much abreast, though some (Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Esther, Chronicles) lagged a little behind, while others (notably the Book of Psalms) were somewhat in the lead. Finally, by the negative process of exclusion, rather than by any comprehensive positive action regarding the admitted writings, during the first generation after the destruction of the temple, the canon of the Old Testament was closed for good and all.

In support of this view it is pointed out that the Samaritan church, which broke off definitely from fellowship with Jerusalem some time during the fourth century, cherishes the Pentateuch but not the remaining two parts of the Old Testament; that the Prophetic canon is recognized by Ben Sirach, writing about 180 B. C., and that it lacks the prophecy of Daniel, which was

published early in the year 164 B. C.; and that the enumerations of Josephus and the author of Fourth Ezra, both writing toward the close of the first century A. D., testify to a completed Old Testament at that period. As these three strata represent three successive stages in the growth of Holy Scripture, so they represent also three descending degrees of sanctity and authority. The Law is the most holy and authoritative, the Prophets are the next holy and authoritative, and the Writings the least holy and authoritative.

Nevertheless, the Pentateuch was not the earliest Holy Scripture to be recognized as such in the Jewish church. It is merely the oldest of the three existing divisions. It had been preceded by an earlier canon, the Law of Deuteronomy, which it eventually absorbed and so superseded. From the eighteenth year of Josiah, 621 B. C., until the adoption of the Pentateuch in 444, the Deuteronomic Law, either separately or as imbedded in the JED corpus of law and history, was the Holy Scripture of the nascent Jewish church. Thus we have the hypothesis of three concentric zones, representing three degrees of sacredness and authority and three successive stages in the growth of Scripture, the innermost zone having first replaced an earlier Scripture of more limited compass. But in any case, there was no Holy Scripture of any sort before 621 B. C. The nucleus of the Old Testament as a collection of inspired writings was the (Deuteronomic) Law.

As contrasted with the teaching of traditional Judaism, the critical position has certain undeniable merits. In distinguishing between the literary coming into being of a document and its attaining to canonical dignity, criticism gets rid of an insuperable obstacle to the historical understanding and evaluation of the Old Testament, and makes intelligible the phenomenon that writings which by no stretch of the rational imagination can be considered prophetic—the amorous ditties of the Song of Songs or the arid wastes of the Chronicler's genealogies—have come to occupy a place in Holy Scripture.

On the other hand, however, the critical view stated in just that form raises difficulties of its own almost as serious as those which it dissolves. How are we to reconcile the fact that the

Scripture of the Jewish church consists of writings which are all of them prophetic, or else assumed to be prophetic, with the hypothesis that for two centuries after Ezra the only Scripture recognized was the Pentateuch—the Law, of which the hereditary custodians and interpreters were not the prophets but the priests; while during all that period the authentic oracles of numerous prophets—the quintessence of inspired utterance, one would suppose—remained outside the pale of Holy Scripture? Apparently the critical position is in need of restatement in some less objectionable form. I cannot, in the time at my disposal, do more than indicate what seems to me the true point of departure for such a restatement.

In a recent handbook which, though intended for the general public and primarily for Jewish readers, may be read with profit by the scholar of every faith, a distinguished member of this Society has, in opposition to what we have ventured to call the critical view, but which he calls the "untraditional" view, put forward the thesis that Jewish Holy Scripture consisted from the first of three separate groups or kinds of writing, corresponding to the three existing divisions of the Hebrew canon, the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. The first group embraced the contributions of the priests, the second those of the prophets, and the third those of the "wise." As each work or item came into existence or into general use, it was assigned to one or other of the three recognized categories in the sacred library of Israel. Doubtless Professor Margolis would claim for his view the label "critical" which he denies to the "untraditional" school. To what extent I am in accord with his strictures on the critical hypothesis, will appear as we proceed. For the moment let me merely point out that his view is just as "untraditional" as is that of the critics. Early Judaism knows nothing of any Holy Scripture which is not both inspired and prophetic. It was not until the Middle Ages that Jewish scholars began to draw a distinction between prophecy and other forms of activity on the part of the Holy Spirit. If our colleague's position is correct, Scripture consists of one class of writings which are inspired, and two which are not inspired, one of the two, moreover, occupying the most authoritative

position in the hierarchy. Nor is it easy to see why the writings of the merely "wise" should have been limited to such as fell within the supposed age of prophecy. To say nothing of such a book as Ben Sirach, were not the rabbis of the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era "the Wise" *par excellence*, and the earliest of them not so far removed in time from the latest contents of the Old Testament? And yet their utterances, when finally recorded, were not added to the third division of the sacred writings.

For my part, I think we shall find it most profitable to take our start from the traditional conception of what the Old Testament contains—what the Jewish church thought it was doing when it assembled into this sacred volume the various and varied contents of the Old Testament; for the literary categories are many more than three.

Judaism tells us that Holy Scripture is the product of prophecy. My remarks will be directed to show that historical study, which necessarily approaches the subject from a different angle, nevertheless supports that proposition. If there had been no prophets in Israel, there never would have been any Holy Scripture—or any Judaism either—in spite of the fact that ancient Israel had a vast amount of priestly *torah*, as well as prose and poetic literature in abundance. Holy Scripture as such is the product of prophecy: it is either actual prophecy, or matter which was artificially cast into the mould of prophecy, or matter which was mistakenly identified with prophecy. Speaking very generally, and only very generally, the oracles of the second canon are actual prophecy, the law of the first canon is matter deliberately cast into the forms of prophecy, while the narratives of both canons as well as the entire contents of the third canon are matter more or less mistakenly identified with prophecy. Not only the Hagiographa, then, which according to the tradition were written by prophets, and according to the critical view were mistakenly attributed to the prophets, but the Law itself owes its place in Holy Scripture to the fact that in some way it became identified or associated with prophecy.

Please note that I speak of prophecy and identification with prophecy. The word "canonization" in Old Testament contexts

is apt to be misleading. Even assuming that the Deuteronomic Law, for example, was formally adopted by king and nation in the days of Josiah, in the sense that they then promised to obey it, and that the Pentateuch, or if you please the P Code, was similarly adopted by the Jerusalem community under the auspices of Ezra and Nehemiah, it is inconceivable that either body should have believed itself to be bestowing upon the law or book or code in question a quality and authority which it had not theretofore possessed. And on the other hand, no one will pretend that either the Former or the Latter Prophets were "canonized" in any such manner about the end of the third century B. C., or that the books of the Hagiographa, whether jointly or separately, were so "canonized." Obviously, moreover, it is quite possible to attribute to a composition—a prayer or a song, for example—prophetic and therefore inspired authorship, without necessarily implying that it perforce constitutes something in the nature of a standard or rule of belief and conduct.

Now, as observed at the outset, Judaism correctly thinks of itself as founded upon Holy Scripture. In fact, the chief reason for its antedating so much of its Scripture, in particular the Law, is that it antedates its own foundation. In the Targum of Jonathan on the Book of Judges, Palestine is pictured as dotted all over with synagogues engaged in the study of the Pentateuch. Judaism and Scripture are in fact inseparable. Any study of the origins of Scripture must necessarily therefore go back of the beginnings of Judaism, to the pre-exilic religion of Israel.

What was there, then, in the old religion of Israel from which such an institution as Holy Scripture could spring?

Scripture is the word of God to men. Existing Scripture must accordingly have originated with the writing down of what was believed to be the word of Yahwe to his people. Now in the old religion of Israel there were just two regular, historical methods of obtaining communications from Yahwe. The first, and on the whole the earlier, in the sense that it began first and was the first to be disused, was the oracle of the priest. The second, and on the whole the later, in the sense that it

came into use later and continued for a considerable period after the lapse of the first, was the oracle of the prophet.

It it easy to confuse the subject at this point. In Israelitish myth and legend, in poetry and story, Yahwe was fancifully represented as speaking to men face to face. So to Adam and Eve, to Noah, to the patriarchs, and above all to Moses, concerning whom we are told explicitly that Yahwe spoke to him "face to face as a man speaketh unto his friend" (Ex. 33 11). The mutinous Aaron and Miriam hear Yahwe's voice distinctly in the Tent of Meeting: "If there be a prophet among you, I will make myself known unto him in a vision and will speak to him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so. With him I speak mouth to mouth, visibly and not by mysterious means, and the very form of Yahwe he sees" (Num. 12 6ff). At the foot of Sinai, not only Moses, but Aaron and Nadab and Abihu, besides seventy elders of Israel, actually "saw the god of Israel" (Ex. 24 10f). And after the age of Moses, from Joshua to Samuel, one after another Israelitish hero talked with Yahwe himself or else with the latter's visible embodiment, the apparition in human form (cf. Jud. 13 6) known as the "angel of Yahwe," and heard with his natural ears the voice of Deity. But all this happened *only in other days*, never in contemporary life. It embodies fancy, not experience. Saul and David and Solomon and Ahab, to say nothing of the later kings of Judah, knew of no human being in their own day who pretended to have seen and talked with Yahwe "face to face." For all of these, there was but one of two methods of ascertaining directly the will and purpose of the deity: the oracle of the priest or the inspiration of the prophet.

I have not overlooked the fact that in our present records Yahwe is represented as making use, even in later times, of the seer and of dreams for communication with men. But the seer, except as his activities are identified with those of priest or prophet, was not a religious functionary at all, but a private practitioner of magic; David seems to have thought him something of a quack (II Sam. 15 27). This applies to the seer called *ro'eh*. The *ḥozeh* was primarily an astrologer and interpreter of other omens. There was a "priest of Yahwe" and a "prophet

of Yahwe," but there was never a "seer of Yahwe" in ancient Israel. Dreams, on the other hand, so far as they do not belong in the imaginative representation of the past, were thought of as merely one of the modes by which the spirit of the deity came into contact with the person of the prophet.

The two instrumentalities, accordingly, with which we are concerned, which were actually and habitually employed in ancient Israel for ascertaining and declaring the divine will, in one or the other of which—if not in both—must be sought the origins of Holy Scripture, are the oracles of the priests and the oracles of the prophets.

Now it is apparent that, of the two, the priestly oracles were utterly incapable of producing the institution of Holy Scripture, and that in point of fact they did not produce it. The priestly oracle was a crassly mechanical affair. The means employed was the sacred lot, contained in an especially consecrated box, the "box of Yahwe," the historical prototype of the Ark of the Covenant or Ark of the Testimony which Jewish dogma—not Israelitish tradition—carried back to Sinai and invested with the two tables of the Decalogue. This box was borne by the priest, who was accordingly designated by the honorific title of "Bearer of the Box of Yahwe." The enquirer stood before the priest and, invoking the deity with due solemnity, himself put the question to which he desired a definite answer. The question was necessarily such as could be answered with a simple yes or no, or else with the indication of one of two equally distinct alternatives. Shall I go, or shall I not go? Shall I go here, or shall I go there? Shall A go, or shall B? Is the guilty man to be found in this group, or in that? is he this individual, or is he that? The priest introduced his hand into the box, from which, after an interval occupied in repeating some formula or in certain manipulations prescribed by tradition, he drew out the lots, and proceeded to interpret them, conforming the language of the answer to that of the enquiry. The data we have concerning this priestly oracle are not numerous, being only such as were allowed to squeeze through the hands of later Jewish editors, who in part did not understand the facts and in part suppressed them. But they are sufficient to justify the

description I have given. We find traces of this Yes-or-No, A-or-B oracle in the earliest period after the Israelitish invasion of Canaan, and it is unmistakably employed as the standard oracle in the reigns of Saul and David. Solomon too was familiar with it; for in words which sound historical (I Kings 2 26) he alludes to it as a contemporary institution to which he gives full faith and credence. Gradually, however, and apparently quite early in the period of the monarchy, this institution was superseded, at least in public life, by the more satisfactory, because more articulate and less fettered, oracles of prophecy. We find no mention of its use by the rulers of Israel and Judah after the ninth century; although a certain prophecy of Jeremiah (Jer. 3 16) implies that it continued to be consulted in the backward regions of North Israel, by persons in private station, as late as his own day[2].

On the other hand, we know for a certainty that priestly oracles were entirely extinct after the exile, and the consultation of them utterly unknown in the Jewish church even in its earliest period. There was no priestly oracle in the Second Temple. Such is the testimony of the Mishna (Sotah 9 12), of Josephus (Ant. III 218), and of the Old Testament itself (Ezra 2 63 = Neh. 7 65). We must not allow ourselves to be misled by the descriptions of the *ḥoshen* or "breastplate" of the High Priest and the mention of *urim* and *thummim* in the Priest Code (Ex. 28 29 f. Lev. 8 8). P does not purport to describe the accoutrements of the High Priest of his own day, but rather those of the supposititious archetype in the days of Moses. Neither P nor any of his contemporaries had ever seen *urim* and *thummim*, and P for one had not the least idea what they were. He had culled the two words from oracular contexts in the older literature. Even the rabbis of the Middle Ages were puzzled by

[2] The opinion of Stade (*Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, p. 129) that such passages as Amos 5 4-6, 10, Micah 3 11, Lam. 2 9 have reference to priestly oracles, seems to me very questionable. The *torah* of the priest did not necessarily or even habitually consist of oracular responses. In fact the passage in Micah, "The chiefs render judgment for reward, and the priests advise for hire, and the prophets divine for money", indicates pretty plainly that at the time it was uttered supernatural aid was to be had only from the prophets.

the singular omission of the vaguest description of those objects in both passages. There can be no manner of doubt that the breastplate of the High Priest in the Second Temple contained nothing at all to correspond to the words *ʿurim* and *thummim*. The priestly oracles expired with the ancient Yahwism. Judaism, which was the offspring of prophecy, was both ignorant of them and quite out of sympathy with them.

Now it is obvious that such responses as those yielded by the priestly oracles, giving a simple yes or no, or indicating one of two alternatives, in answer to a specific question on a specific occasion, could hardly contain anything worth writing down for transmission to posterity; while the very existence of the institution rendered superfluous and self-contradictory the recording of them for consultation in some future emergency. For the sacred box was always there, or could be manufactured at pleasure; and the priest was a continuous, not like the prophet a sporadic, phenomenon. In point of fact, these oracular responses were not recorded. The Old Testament contains nowhere any record, or trace of a record, of a corpus of such priestly oracles.

Nor should the point be overlooked that neither diviner nor client supposed for a moment that the proceeding to be effective demanded an effusion of the divine spirit upon the officiating priest. Like all other priestly rites, this rite depended for its efficacy upon the correctness with which it was performed. If Holy Scripture is inspired scripture, it could originate in inspired oral utterance which was later committed to writing. It could hardly originate in the committing to writing of the result of oracular enquiry which did not in contemporary thinking involve the possession of the divine spirit.

To be sure, the priests were more than manipulators and interpreters of the oracles of Yahwe. They were the proprietors of the important sanctuaries—sanctuaries whose clientele was large enough to support a resident priesthood—and they were also the custodians of the religious tradition. They were the counselors of the people on questions of ceremony and ritual, of clean and unclean, of sacred and profane. And doubtless, because of their professional occupation with matters of tradition, they were the court of appeal — as regards opinion, not

as regards enforcement — in cases of extraordinary difficulty, that is of rarity, arising in the domain of what we should call the civil law. But the notion sometimes met with, that the priests of ancient Israel were the ordinary administrators of justice, after the manner of the rabbi of Talmudic times, is without warrant. Justice was administered "in the gate," not at the sanctuary; by the elders of the tribe or city, or else by the civil magistrate, the *shofeṭ*, not by the priests. Jezebel suborns the elders, not the priests, for the legal murder of Naboth. In the story of Moses and his father-in-law (Ex. 18), which concerns us only for its reflection of the author's views, Moses combines in his person the functions of priest and tribal chief, and is accordingly represented as the channel of oracular enquiry as well as instructor in the sacred law. But the officers whom, on the advice of Jethro, he appoints to administer justice —the rulers of thousands and hundreds and fifties and tens— are not priests or Levites but laymen. Even in Deuteronomy, where the civil law is cast into a religious mould, the distinction between the *torah* or "teaching" of the priest and the *mishpaṭ* or "legal rule" of the civil magistrate is still maintained (Deut. 17 9 ff. cf. 16 18–20).

It is barely possible that an occasional decision of some novel point of religious practice, or even of civil law, was secured by resort to the priestly oracle, and thereafter embodied in the traditional *torah*. But that cannot have occurred often enough to affect with even the palest aspect of oracular origin the body of the traditional law. The mass of both *torah* and *mishpaṭ*, sacerdotal doctrine and civil law, was not, and in ancient Israel was not believed to be, of oracular origin. For we must not forget that neither sacerdotal doctrine and tradition nor a common law of the body politic was anything peculiar to ancient Israel. Other peoples had both, without transmuting them into written revelation. In early society law is "declared," it is not "made." It is considered as static as mathematics. It is the physiology of the State. Even the king is subject to it. Only later does the idea of law by decree or statute take shape, and then the tendency is to assign a fictitious statutory origin to existing law and custom.

Actually, the rigid statutory cast which characterizes the law of our Old Testament is directly due to the influence of the institution of prophecy. In certain Levitical circles, and perhaps apart from the influence of prophecy, the sacerdotal tradition was carried back, in a vague way, to the foundation of the nation, that is to "the beginning," and so to its traditional founder, Moses. But there is no reason to suppose that even in those circles the whole body of Israelitish law was attributed to divine revelation—except in a pickwickian sense, in much the same way that Hammurapi and his contemporaries "believed" that his exhaustive codification of the Babylonian common law was handed to him by the god Shamash.

In any event, there is no evidence that the traditional *toroth*, any more than the responses of the oracles, were actually assembled in a written code and published to the nation as the embodiment of the commands of God. So far as such compilations existed at all, they were private priestly manuals—textbooks—and nothing else. There existed, to be sure, a great national prose epic, which related the marvelous story of Israel from the creation of the world to the glorious reign of Solomon, which was public property, and apparently set forth, by way of narration, in connection with the story of the exodus from Egypt (Ex. 13), the institution of the law of the first born and of the feast of Unleavened Bread, and, in connection with the story of the covenant established at Sinai, the words or stipulations of that covenant (Ex. 34)[3]. But only by way of narration. Neither J nor E was written as a framework for those two passages, nor did they make any pretence of being inspired compositions.

The fact remains that the Old Testament contains no trace of a book or document actually published to the nation, under priestly auspices, as setting forth the word of God to men—before Deuteronomy.

On the other hand, long before Deuteronomy there were indisputably in circulation manuscripts originating in non-priestly

[3] In the E document (Ex. 21-23) the ten words of the covenant have been swollen with many additional injunctions as well as a long list of *mishpaṭim*, rules of civil law (21 1—22 17), which were no part of the original document; cf. the interpolated words, "and all the *mishpaṭim*," in 24 3.

circles and exhibiting *just that thing*. Long before the eighteenth year of Josiah there existed a class of writings which claimed to set forth, and were acknowledged by their possessors to set forth, the word of God to men—the prophecies af the prophets. If it be objected that, though addressed to the nation, these writings were acknowledged and cherished only by the disciples of the prophets, the answer is that the Jewish church has always consisted of the disciples of those same prophets, be the disciples few or many. And it is the origins of the Scripture of the Jewish church that we are attempting to trace.

The institution of prophecy needs no description. The prophet employed no mechanical instrument of divination. He believed himself to be possessed by the living spirit of the deity, which entered into him and so communicated either directly with him or with the outer world through the medium of his body and vocal organs. Ostensibly, as early as the times of Saul and David (I Sam. 28 6, 15, II Sam. 12) individual members of the fraternity, which as a whole did not rise above the level of religious ecstacy and emotional paroxysms, stand forth to guide or to reprove the ruler of the nation by the articulate expression of the mind of deity, imparted to them through the physical infusion of his living spirit. As regards Saul and David the record may be colored by the ideas of later times, as the stories relating to Jeroboam and Rehoboam certainly are. But the story of Micaiah ben Imlah at the court of Ahab indubitably reflects the actual usage of the middle of the ninth century. And although Elijah is in many respects a legendary character, the share of Elishah in the destruction of the dynasty of Omri is too inextricably interwoven with the history of the monarchy to admit of serious question. Manifestly, in that generation communication with the deity through prophecy had, at least in national affairs, supplanted divination by means of the priestly oracle.

So far as we know, neither Micaiah ben Imlah nor Elishah —any more than Nathan or Elijah— composed messages in writing or had them copied and preserved for their own and their disciples' use. But we do know of a certainty that, beginning with the middle of the eighth century, at least some

utterances of the prophets of Yahwe were of such form that they required the use of the pen for their composition, or else of such literary merit and impressiveness that they were written down by the disciples of the prophet. To be sure, the earlier prophets did not write for publication, any more than a modern sermon is written for publication. But if a modern sermon claimed to embody an inspired message from God to men, and that claim was credited by the preacher's adherents, one of the latter who possessed a copy of the sermon, for whatever reason transcribed, would certainly esteem himself to possess a transcript of the word of God.

It is not at all necessary to appeal to such passages as Isaiah 8 1, 16 and 30 8, which are not quite to the point, or to Jer. 26 18, where Jeremiah quotes a prophecy of Micah, or to the famous incident reported in Jeremiah 36, which can hardly have been entirely without precedent, in support of the thesis that prophecies were written down before the close of the eighth century as well as in the seventh. The argument *ad hominem* is sufficient. Whoever admits that we have in our Old Testament verbatim utterances of Amos or Hosea or Isaiah or Micah, admits all that is necessary for the purpose of this discussion.

For the rest, the reasoning is perfectly simple: Since Holy Scripture, in the conception of the community which engendered and fostered it, consists of the writings of prophets and nothing else, the earliest Holy Scripture as such will have been the earliest prophetic writings. The earliest Scripture—I do not say the first story of the existing structure, which is the product of more or less reconstruction—was neither the Pentateuch (as orthodox tradition has it) nor yet the Deuteronomic Code (as orthodox criticism has it), but the written records of the divinely inspired utterances of the prophets—as far as we can judge from the surviving materials, the prophets of the eighth century.

Of course there was in the eighth century no synagogue in which those prophets could be read, nor any institution remotely resembling the synagogue of later times. Nor were any of those prophetic writings adopted—canonized, as the saying is—by a great popular assembly such as bound itself to the Deuteronomic

Law under Josiah, or such as is represented as gathering to listen to the reading of Ezra's Law. But neither were our present prophetical books and the Hagiographa ever formally adopted by such an assembly. And while it is true that the synagogue has been an all-important factor in the preservation of the scriptures, it is not true that actual reading in the service of the synagogue was requisite to the canonical status of a book. The synagogue has never read more than certain extracts from the Prophets, and has never read at all six of the eleven books of the Hagiographa. Reading in the synagogue did not make either Law or Prophets canonical; they were read and studied in the synagogue because they were already considered canonical. All that reading in the synagogue accomplished in the case of both those so-called canons was to arrest for good and all the process of redaction and revision.

The fact remains that when Josiah came to the throne in the second half of the seventh century, *manuscripts of prophetic utterances claiming and believed by their readers to embody the inspired word of God had been in existence for over a hundred years; while for over two hundred years the institution of prophecy which they represented had entirely displaced the priesthood as the recognized channel of divine revelation.* The Prophetic Canon, as a category of writings, was already then in existence, however much was to happen before it was finally closed.

This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized. For except as we reckon with it, we shall be wholly unable to account for *the prophetization of the law.* The latter process began with the publication of Deuteronomy.

Exactly when Deuteronomy was composed, we do not know. The implication of the narrative in Kings (cf. II Kings 22 4ff) is that the book was found in the collection box which since the days of Joash had been placed at the entrance to the temple to receive the money contributions of the worshippers (II Kings 12 10). So the Chronicler understood the narrative (II Chron. 34 14). If this inference is correct, the book cannot have lain there for very many years, and it will have been put there for the purpose of being discovered at the next opening of

the box. It was the author's contribution toward "the repair of the house." And it was a greater contribution than that of Solomon.

The book of Deuteronomy is a pseudepigraphon, in the strict etymological sense of the word; but only in that sense. Otherwise it has little in common with the pseudepigrapha of later times. For no sincerer book was ever written, or one composed in better faith. To raise the question of literary ethics in this connection is to show one's self lacking in historical sense. The pertinent considerations are quite other than the question of the recognition of certain (essentially Hellenic) literary conventions. They are, first, the absence of any distinction between form and matter in Hebrew thinking and consequently in Hebrew prose composition. Hebrew syntax has no means of reporting a speech of Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons in indirect discourse, after the manner of the London Times. And second, and more important, the absence of the faintest idea of evolution in matters of law or of religion. The *history* of Deuteronomy was that recorded in the great national epic already mentioned. The *religion* of Deuteronomy was the religion of the prophets —the true religion of Israel, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, from Moses to the end of time. No one of the prophets supposed for a moment that he was introducing a new conception of the character and demands of Yahwe; neither did the author of Deuteronomy suppose that they were. The *law* of Deuteronomy was existing law, likewise (because law) of immemorial antiquity, and so for a Levite essentially Mosaic. For my own part, I have not the least difficulty in believing that even the law of the single sanctuary was imputed to Moses in perfect good faith. What were all those sanctuaries scattered over the country but ancient heathen shrines, at which the worship of Yahwe was mingled and confused with that of alien gods, with pagan rites and obscene Canaanitish orgies? And how many sanctuaries of Yahwe were there in the days of Moses?

Deuteronomy was not the beginning of Jewish Holy Scripture, but it was the beginning of the *law as written revelation*. And at this point it is of the utmost importance to observe that Deuteronomy, although it contains a good deal of law, both

religious and civil, is not a law book at all. It is *a prophecy*—one long address, patterned after the addresses of the prophets. Moreover, unlike the prophecies of the earlier time, it never was or could be anything but *a written prophecy*. That is, it is *a literary composition suggested by and patterned after the existing written reports of the prophecies of other days*. At the time it was written, manuscripts of prophecy were familiar to both the author and his prospective readers.

Although himself a priest, and almost certainly of genuine Levitical stock—which is more than can be said of the descendants of Zadok—the author nevertheless knows nothing of any priestly oracle of Yahwe. For several generations prophecy had in fact been the only accredited means of revelation—so long, that for him there never had been any other legitimate means. The Deuteronomist, as Judaism after him, is separated by an impassable gulf from the priestly oracle of earlier days. Moses, accordingly, was for him not a priest but a prophet, the first and the greatest of the prophets:

> When thou art come into the land which Yahwe thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those nations. There shall not be found among you . . . a diviner, or a soothsayer, or an enchanter, or a sorcerer, or a charmer, or one that consulteth a ghost or a familiar spirit, or a necromancer. For whosoever doeth these things is an abomination unto Yahwe. . . . Thou shalt be straightforward with Yahwe thy God. For these nations that thou art to dispossess hearken unto soothsayers and diviners; but as for thee, Yahwe thy God doth not permit thee so to do. A prophet will Yahwe thy God raise up unto thee, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him shall ye hearken; just as thou thyself didst ask of Yahwe thy God in Horeb in the day of assembly, saying, Let me not hear the voice of Yahwe my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, lest I die. And Yahwe said unto me, They have well said. I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken

unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.

So we read in a section which is as integral to Deuteronomy as any in the book (18 9–19). The whole Jewish theory of revelation is contained in these words—centuries before Josephus and Baba Bathra.

I have not time to pursue the subject further. Let me merely point out that, with the publication of Deuteronomy and its incorporation in the literature of prophecy, there was established the second of the only two existing categories of Jewish Holy Scripture; the second in point of time, but that which from the nature of the case became dominant in the organized religious life of the community. The one consisted of the "initial," constitutive, and so primary, prophecy of Moses; the other of the "subsequent," confirmatory, occasional, and so secondary, prophecy of the prophets who came after Moses. These are the only two classes of Holy Scripture known to Judaism.

The prophetization and incidental statutization of the law begun by the author of Deuteronomy was vigorously pushed forward in the two following centuries. What D began was continued by the authors of the Holiness and Priest Codes and the diaskeuasts who succeeded them. None of them did anything, in principle, but codify under the formula of Mosaic revelation the laws and practices of their time. The P Code was not written in Babylonia out of the head of its author. It registered and so stereotyped the law and ritual of the Second Temple. Most of all law is old law, and if law is to be respected it must always be so. Only, into every codification there enters the personal equation of the codifier. This was as true of the Code of Hammurapi as of the Priestly Law.

We do not know the precise date of the redaction and publication of the Pentateuch. The story of Nehemiah 8 has reference, in my judgment, to the Pentateuch, not to the separate P Code; but it is of doubtful historicity. In any event, the book must have been published some considerable time after the restoration of the temple, and some considerable time before the consummation of the Samaritan schism. A date about 400 B. C. cannot be successfully gainsaid. The Pentateuch was not a "canon,"

but an *edition*. It aimed to include everything Mosaic, by no means everything that at the time was Holy Scripture. It represents a stage in the process of supplementation and redaction of the Law, and in the event proved definitive because of its employment in the synagogues of Palestine and the Diaspora, as well as by the sect of the Samaritans. Only very gradually did the notion take shape that Moses was the author not only of the laws but also of the narrative in which they were framed.

Like the Pentateuch, the so-called Prophetic Canon too was originally an edition, rather than a canon, in the sense of an inclusive and exclusive collection of sacred writings. It was compiled and issued not long before the close of the third century. No one of the books it contains ever existed in just that form apart from all the rest. This is quite as true of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve, as of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. The edition aimed of course to be comprehensive. But there was no pronouncement upon the subject. So that actually the category of Holy Scripture was left open, as it had been since pre-exilic times. The tendency both then and later was to be as inclusive as the doctrine of inspiration would allow.

Fortunately for us, the contents of the Old Testament do not answer to the Jewish theory of the origin and constitution of Holy Scripture. They do not answer to anything so abstract as a category of human thinking. The architects of the Old Testament builded far better than they knew. They have left us a record as varied and complex and inexhaustible as life itself—a unique and priceless cinematograph of a thousand years of time, during which the mind of an ancient people wrestled with its idea of God.

TWO UNKNOWN VERBS

ETYMOLOGICAL STUDIES

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1. אָד (root איד) *to be strong and powerful*; comp. Arabic آدَ (r. ءيد).

THE first hemistich of Job 31 23 כי פחד אלי איד אל, disconcerts the reader by the lack of a verb. The more usual way of translating it is: "For calamity from God was a terror to[1] me." Compare Targum: אֲרוּם דְּלֵיתַ לְוָתִי תְּבַר אֱלָהָא. This translation thus follows literally the Massoretic text, as if it had before it a sentence of inverted structure with אֵיד אֵל as subject and פַּחַד אֵלַי as predicate.

It is, however, noticeable that out of more than twenty examples of אֵיד occurring in the Bible none, when used in the construct state or when provided with pronominal suffixes, refers to the author of the "calamity "or "distress," but all do refer to the victim of it. Therefore the above interpretation of איד אל as "calamity from God" must at first sight seem questionable. Also an expression like פחד אלי, *a terror to me*, can hardly be considered Hebrew; since "to me" in the meaning of *for me*, after a predicate noun, is generally expressed by לִי[2] instead of אֵלַי.

[1] Nearly so read the traditional Jewish explanation, the English Authorized Version, Saadia, Philippson, the English translation of the Jew. Publ. Soc., Kautzsch, Budde, etc.

[2] Compare, for instance: Prov. 1 9; 3 8; 3 22; 4 22; 15 21; 17 25; 20 3; 21 15.

While accepting in the main the above meaning of the sentence, Ehrlich[3] nevertheless suggests the emendation: כִּי פַּחַד אֵל יַד אֵל *For the most terrible of terrors is the hand of God*, taking פַּחַד אֵל as a superlative. But such an *aphoristic* form of sentence, general and objective, to say nothing of the heavy and improbable repetition of אל, does not seem simple enough as a mere parallel of the following hemistich which is personal and subjective: וּמִשֵּׂאתוֹ לֹא אוּכַל *And by reason of his majesty I could do nothing.*

It is the more interesting to compare with the above general interpretation the two most ancient versions of the Bible, which seem here to differ from the Massoretic text. Indeed, both the Septuagint and the Peshiṭa render our hemistich by a normal sentence of logical structure with פחד as subject and with a special *verb* of similar meaning. LXX: *φόβος γὰρ συνέσχεν με*, For a terror *overwhelmed* me. Syriac: ܡܛܠ ܕܕܚܠܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܪܥܬܢܝ For the terror of God *seized* me.

It seems, therefore, more than probable that the Hebrew text also would contain here some *verb*. Kittel, deeming our verse corrupt, does not hesitate to read: פַּחַד אֵל יאתא לי. But, if this אֵל is beyond all question as proved by the Syriac version, a verb like אתא *to come* would appear really weak as a predicate to the expression "the terror of God" and when compared with *συνέσχεν* and ܐܪܥܬܢܝ. Seemingly, it would have been merely suggested by the *supplementary explanation* to our hemistich, embodied in the Syriac verse: ܘܬܒܪܗ ܐܬܐ ܥܠܝ, and the calamity from him *came* upon me.

As to the Hebrew text, it can contain only a verb with a meaning similar to that of the above verbs used in the two earliest versions. Such a verb, almost without any text emendation, might be אָד of the root איד that has given the usual noun אֵיד, *calamity*, assumed to figure in our verse. Thus the Bible would have preserved here a unique example of the Arabic verb أَادَ (r. ايد) *to be* or *grow strong and powerful.* Our text would not be in reality corrupt, but there might have occurred a mere mistake in the separation of the words, the final י of אֵלִי

[3] *Randglossen zur hebr. Bibel*, Leipzig 1913, vol. VI, p. 304.

belonging to the beginning of the next word, namely the Imperfect יָאִיד. Then our hemistich would read: כי פחד אֵל יָאִיד אלי (=עלי) *For the terror of God was mighty upon me.* יָאִיד would be, with more emphasis, synonymous with יֶחֱזַק in expressions like וְיַד ה" עָלַי חָזְקָה (Ezek. 3 14) "*And the hand of the Lord was strong upon me*;" ודבר־המלך חָזַק עלי־יואב (I Chr. 21 4) "And the king's word *prevailed against Joab*;" כִּי חָזַק עליהם הרעב (Gen. 47 20), "Because the famine was *sore upon them.*"

Obviously, I consider this verb אָד (r. איד) akin to the noun אֵיד *calamity, misfortune* (= something *strong* versus us), and both the verb and the noun to be connected with the above Arabic root ايد, mediae ي, rather than with the verb أَادَ mediae و (r. اود) meaning *to bend*, as admitted by many.[4] The evolution of meaning from أَادَ (r. ايد) *to be strong and powerful* to אֵיד *calamity, distress*, would find a parallel in the verb שַׁדַּ *to fasten tight, strengthen, in crease in violence* and the derived noun שִׁדָּה or שִׁדִּידָה *misfortune, misery, calamity.* Comp. also Assyrian danānu[5] *to be strong* and dannatu *distress, affliction.*

As to the last word of our hemistich, אלי instead of עלי, it is sufficient to remember that the confusion of the prepositions אל and על occurs so often in the Bible that it seems quite superfluous to quote other examples.[6] Now, the wrong separation of the words must have caused the dropping out of the final י of this אלי (=עלי), which then lost its genuine sense to become אֵל.

Finally, with this verb יָאִיד we get the most natural parallelism between the two halves of our verse:

> "For the terror of God *was mighty* upon me,
> By reason of his majesty I could do nothing."

[4] See איד, for instance, in *Gesenius'* or in *Fuerst's* lexicon to the Old Testament. Also أَادَ (r. ادد) *to happen, overwhelm*, has been proposed.

[5] See Muss-Arnolt: *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, Berlin 1905, p. 262.

[6] See Fried. Delitzsch: *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament*, p. 124, Berlin und Leipzig 1920.

2. חָלַשׁ *to snatch away, carry off, reap*; comp. Arabic خَلَسَ and vernacular خَلَشَ.

This verb, in Job 14 10 וגבר ימות ויחלש, is still considered by most exegetes as related to the Aramaic חלש *to be weak* and the adjective חָלָשׁ (Joel 4 10) which is really the counterpart of the Syriac ܚܠܫ. Appreciating, however, that ויחלש translated in this way is an anticlimax after ימות, they have differently exaggerated the above meaning as far as the Aramaic root signification would allow. Our sentence is most usually rendered as follows: "But man dieth and *wasteth*[7] *away*."

Quite in accordance with this proceeding we find, as early as the tenth century, Saadia's interpretation: "But man, when he dieth, is *benumbed*."[8]

Gersonides (XIVth century) stands apart, ascribing to the verb חלש both in our passage and in Ex. 17 13 the meaning *to cut*[9] *off*. This might have been suggested to him by vernacular Ar. خَلَشَ[10] *to reap with a sickle*.

Delitzsch's interpretation of our verb in both above passages (in Job 14 10 *fallen, stürzen*; in Ex. 17 13 *fällen, niederstrecken*) can be considered only as a broadening of the Aramaic signification *to be weak*; since it rests on neither etymological comparisons nor other positive proofs.[11]

Other translations, like Renan's *il reste étendu,*[12] Merx' *und*

[7] This is the English Authorized Translation.

[8] *Saadia: Version arabe du livre de Job*, Paris 1899, éd. Leroux; see p. 45: (إنْخَدَرَ *to grow numb*) ואלמר אדא מאת פקד אנכדר.

Notice the curious resemblance of this interpretation to the meaning acquired by the same verb in Yiddish: חלש"ן *to faint, swoon*. Comp. also the French Zadoc Kahn Translation: *s'évanouit* (meaning also *to disappear*).

[9] See רלב"נ in *Biblia Magna*, Job 14 10.

[10] In common use among Palestinian *fellahin*. Since this verb does not belong to the literary language, it does not occur in the classical Lexica, like those by Freytag, Lane, Kasimirsky; it is, however, found in Wahrmund's Arabic-German, Steingass' Arabic-English and Belot's Arabic-French dictionaries which include dialectical words and phrases.

[11] See Delitzsch: *Das Buch Hiob*, Leipzig 1902, p. 154, also p. 46.

[12] Renan: *Le livre de Job*, Paris 1882, p. 57.

liegt da,[13] Budde's *und ist dahin*[14] (for "er liegt dahingestreckt" in the Commentary), seem to be more or less influenced by the Vulgate rendering—*nudatus*.[15]

The Syriac version ܘܓܒܪܐ ܡܐܬ ܘܒܠܐ as well as Targum יתמקמק have evidently been derived from the Aramaic signification of חלש.

The Septuagint version ᾤχετο,[16] however, is quite different from all the others. It fits our text in a manner striking by its very simplicity, a trait which seems to be a clear indication of its original suitableness. Indeed, ᾤχετο comes from οἴχομαι which means: *to depart, go off, pass away, disappear.* The whole hemistich would then read: "But man dieth and *disappeareth.*" This is undoubtedly the nearest to the original and genuine sense, inasmuch as it affords the best parallelism with the second hemistich: "Man expireth and *where is he?*"

On this account, some would read ויהלך (Dillmann, Beer, Merx), others suggest the emendation ויחלף (Wright, Budde). Thus we find here one of those characteristic instances where the wrong principle of changing the text in order to adjust it to an obsolete rendering of the ancient versions, chiefly the LXX, serves to prevent us from discovering the true meaning of rare Biblical vocables. For in most of such cases, especially when supported by Comparative Semitic lexicography, it is rather logical and natural to recognize archaic roots whose genuine sense was hitherto concealed by their *graphical* resemblance to other words more common in the Bible.

Our passage, too, does not need to be emended. For the verb in question has certainly nothing to do with the Aramaic חלש *to be weak*, being evidently the ancient Hebrew counterpart of the Arabic خَلَسَ *to snatch away*,[17] *carry off*. Nothing could give so perfect a parallelism with the next hemistich: "But man dieth and is *snatched away*;[18] man expires and *where is he?*"

[13] Merx: *Das Gedicht von Hiob*, Jena 1871, p. 65.

[14] Budde: *Das Buch Hiob*, Göttingen 1896, p. 70.

[15] This may possibly have inspired also the English Translation of the Jew. Publ. Soc.; see page 936: "But man dieth and *lieth low.*"

[16] LXX, Job 14 10: ἀνὴρ δὲ τελευτήσας ᾤχετο.

[17] See Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London 1865, p. 784.

[18] Possibly the right vocalisation of the Hebrew ought to be here יַחֲלֹשׁ.

Curiously enough Schleusner, who noticed the connection between خَلَسَ and the above rendering of the LXX, continued nevertheless to translate חלש in accordance with the old fashion — *debilitor*.[19]

Furthermore, the above meaning also suits the text in Ex. 17 13: וַיַּחֲלֹשׁ יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶת־עֲמָלֵק וְאֶת עַמּוֹ לְפִי־חָרֶב — "And Joshua *carried off* (or *snatched away*) Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword." What an energetic expression the verse thus recovers!

This instrumental phrase לְפִי־חָרֶב recalling by association the above vernacular حَلَشَ *to reap with a sickle*, which I have connected with Gersonides' interpretation, has double importance. On the one hand, it offers an additional and definitive proof that ancient Hebrew really possessed a verb חלש different from its Aramaic homonym. On the other, it affords opportunity to trace the origin of the vernacular حَلَشَ itself. As a matter of fact, this *agricultural* term is quite absent in Classical Arabic, something which may lead us to call in question its very Arabic origin. Furthermore, while common in the vernacular of Palestine and Syria, this verb shows no traces of its existence in Aramaic or Syriac. It is then most natural to assume that in our case we have to deal with a *Hebrew loan-word* picked up by the Bedouin invaders from the indigenous peasants. Indeed, the spelling of حَلَشَ appears to be a simple *phonetical* copy of the Hebrew חלש, without the corresponding س (or ث) for ש, as one would naturally expect for roots common to both Hebrew and Arabic.

This assertion seems further to be strengthened by the very comparison of the vernacular حَلَشَ with the classical خَلَسَ. The meaning of the former verb *to reap* would be merely a specialized shade of the general sense of the latter *to carry off*, *snatch away*. Both verbs may be etymologically identical. The original Arabic form is خَلَسَ, the classical counterpart of the Hebrew חלש, with common primitive meaning *to snatch away*, *carry off*. The Hebrews, a preponderantly agricultural people,

[19] *Schleusner*: *Lexicon in LXX*, Glasguae 1822, see vol. II, p. 544, οἴχομαι.

would naturally have derived from this general signification a more special one: *to reap* = to carry off with a sickle. This verb may have been preserved by the Palestinian peasants up to the time of the invasion of Islam, when it could come back to the Arabs through the channel of the vernacular under the form *ḥalaš* (حَلَش), according to the later Hebrew pronounciation where every ח is regarded as ح.

I wish to conclude with a reference to Is. 14 12. Here, too, our verb has most probably either of the shades of the above advocated meaning, perhaps rather the second. For, whatever the value of **על**[20] in the phrase **חולש על-גוים** might be, each hemistich would emphasize a tragical contrast in the fate of the King of Babylon. The first compares him to a "day-star" which is "fallen from heaven." The second, where **חולש** is obviously counterpart and synonym of **נגדעת** (from **גדע** *to cut down*), means to assert that he who used *to carry off* (or *to reap*) nations by his victories, as a reaper does corn, is now *cut down* himself.

"How art thou fallen from heaven,
O day-star, son of the morning!
(How) art thou *cut down* to the ground,
O *reaper* of (LXX "all") the nations!"[21]

[20] Some would emend כל on account of the LXX. See, however, the explanation of this particle here by *Qimḥi* (רד"ק).

[21] Is. 14 12: איך נפלת משמים, הילל בן-שחר! נגדעת לארץ, חולש על-גוים (LXX כל-גוים)!

SOME TEXT-CRITICAL NOTES ON JOB

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THE book of Job has of late received a marked degree of attention. Within two years four noteworthy commentaries upon it appeared. In 1920 the late Professor Jastrow published his "*Book of Job, its Origin, Growth, and Interpretation, together with a New Translation based on a Revised Text.*" In 1921 appeared the International Critical Commentary on "*Job*" by the late Professor Driver and Professor G. B. Gray. Early in 1922 Professor C. J. Ball published his "*Book of Job*," and Professor Moses Buttenwieser, of Hebrew Union College, also published his. Each of these last mentioned volumes contains a new translation based on a revised text as well as a commentary.

In his seminary the present writer is testing and assimilating the new material and points of view presented by these books. While his work has not been completed, it has progressed far enough for him to record certain impressions and convictions, and to make a few definite suggestions.

Of the four new commentaries before us three extensively revise the Massoretic text. Driver and Gray alone are conservative and cautious in making emendations. The other three scholars make them freely and frequently. As every student of Job knows there are passages in which emendation is unavoidable, but a fresh study of Job has convinced the present writer that such passages are much less numerous than many commentators have supposed. Every correction of the text that is suggested should be considered fairly with open mind, and those made in the commentaries named above have, for the

early chapters of Job, been so considered, but in the great majority of cases they seem to weaken the force of the thought or spoil its poetry. At the best they occasionally present an alternative which is plausible. Only rarely do they remove a real difficulty and actually improve the text. In other words, a study of the manifold suggestions of revision increases one's respect for the Massoretic text.

Notwithstanding this respect, there are passages in which correction is necessary, and one must employ the best means at hand in the effort to remedy the corruption that has evidently taken place.

A few instances taken from Chapters 8—11 are added as illustrations of unfortunate and also of necessary emendation.

1. The last clause of 9 35, כי־לא־כן אנכי עמדי, has puzzled translators, both ancient and modern. The LXX, followed by the Coptic, read *οὐ γὰρ οὕτω συνεπίσταμαι*, possibly taking עמדי as equivalent to ידעתי. The Syriac, which is supported by the Arabic, reads ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܡܩܒܠܗ, possibly taking עמדי as equivalent to על־פניו, but possibly understanding it as equivalent to צרר or ערו (as in 1 Sam. 28 16) "adversary." The Vulgate reads: *neque enim possum metuens respondere*, reading ענה for עמדי. In ancient times, therefore, the text was regarded either as difficult or uncertain. It has been treated differently by every recent interpreter.

Jastrow follows a conjecture of Ehrlich that, out of reverence the Massoretes substituted הוא for אנכי, so, restoring the הוא he translates: "That he is not fair to me"—a rendering that does not seem as fitting an introduction to ch. 10 as that which it displaces. Ball, correcting עמדי on the authority of the LXX to ידעתי, renders: "For I, I know him not right." Buttenwieser retaining the MT, nevertheless translates, "My mind is thrown into confusion." Driver and Gray, on the other hand, not only retain the present text, but find in it the meaning which had previously been found by others, (e. g. Davidson, Budde, Duhm, Peake, Barton), that Job is conscious in himself of no cause (i. e. no sin) why he should be terrified at God. This suits the beginning of ch. 10 much better, and is to be preferred.

Again in ch. 8 Jastrow, having excised vv. 6, 7, would remove

vv. 21, 22 from their present position and place them after v. 5. He thinks they were removed from that position "to make Bildad's speech end with consolation." Ball, while leaving v. 21 in its present position, suspects v. 22 as an infelicitous restoration by the Massoretes of a mutilated text.

These criticisms seem hypercritical. It is improbable that the poet would make the first speech of one of the friends end without an exhortation to Job to repent. Had he not done so the poet would have been a poor psychologist. On the other hand he was, at this point, representing the irritation of Job's friends as on the increase. It is altogether fitting to his purpose, therefore, that the note of warning in v. 22 should be mingled with the ray of hope in v. 21.

To take an example of another kind, יחד סביב in 10 8 presents an impossible text.

> "Thy hands have fashioned me and made me
> Together round about thou swallowest me up,"

a poet of the power and clarity of thought of the author of Job could not have written. Probably the text has suffered corruption. The Syriac and Arabic read צבית for סביב, but the reading of the LXX $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$ = סֹבֵב is much simpler and more probable. Both the LXX and the Syriac, followed by the Cop. Eth. and Arabic, support the reading אחר instead of יחד. Adopting these slight changes, we obtain the satisfactory couplet:

> "Thy hands have fashioned me and made me,
> Afterward, turning, thou also swallowest me up."

Again in 10 16, the reading of MT ויגאה, causes difficulty. Both before and after it Job is speaking in the first person; why should we have a verb in the third person here? AV followed by Driver and Gray and Buttenwieser tried to solve the difficulty by supplying "my head" as the subject, while Jastrow and Ball drop the line as a dittograph. The LXX read להרג instead of ויגאה, making the line "Thou huntest me for slaughter." The Syriac has, however, preserved the right reading ואגאה, "and if I exalt myself." This should be adopted.

Finally, in Job 10 21, 22 the recurrence of the many synonyms for darkness in the description of Sheol is thought to cause

difficulty. The suspicion that something is wrong is increased by the fact that the LXX arranged the clauses differently. Jastrow thought he could disentangle the confusion by detecting a gloss and a super gloss. It was thus that he accounted for the occurrence of אֶפֶל twice in v. 22. Ball, similarly feeling the difficulty of so many references to darkness, regards the whole of v. 22 as a gloss.

It has occurred to me that some light might be gained on the way a Semitic poet would handle such a theme by comparing "Ishtar's Descent into the Lower World"—a poem that begins with a description of the darkness of Sheol. In that poem we have within the space of nine lines the darkness of Sheol referred to five times. Of these five references three consist of the same word *eṭu*, though once the feminine-abstract ending is added making *eṭutu*. The other two references to darkness are phrases which speak of the lack of light in Sheol, into both of which the word *nûru* enters. (*zu-um-mu-ú nu-ú-ra* and *nu-ú-ru ul im-ma-ru*). Such a passage reveals at once the horror which Sheol inspired in the Semitic mind and how, in expressing it, even a great poet might reiterate the same words.

There is, however, one word, סדרים, which seems out of place. While סדר occurs often in post-Biblical Hebrew, it occurs in no other passage in the Old Testament. לא־סדרים seems to have little meaning here. It is certainly a strange way of expressing "disorder," and "disorder" seems a strange idea to be thrown into the midst of these synonyms for darkness. Again the LXX point the way to a solution of the difficulty. They translate by φέγγος, which represents a Hebrew צהרים — a reading that should be adopted. לא־צהרים, "without light" or "without noonday" is, as the parallel from "Ishtar's Descent" shows, exactly what a Semitic poet would say in such a connection.

ELIJAH AND THE TYRIAN ALLIANCE

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THE separation of Judah from Israel under Rehoboam left the Northern Kingdom weak at the time when she was called upon to face the ambitious and aggressive power of Damascus under Benhadad. Coupled with her weakness was the exceeding value of her situation, for Samaria lay at the ganglion of all the trade routes which ran from east to west and from north to south. The roads which ran to the great ports of the Mediterranean Sea, to Tyre, Sidon and to Acca, led past the gateways of Samaria; the road to Philistia and thence to Egypt, the road to Jerusalem and thence to Elath, the road over Jordan and thence southward to Moab, Edom, Petra and Elath, the northern road to Damascus, all passed through the land of Samaria. Samaria was a ganglion and a gateway, an exceeding temptation to any commercial power which felt strong enough to follow the pathway of ambition.

Isolated on the South, threatened on the North, Ahab turned to the West and sought to secure his frontiers against Aramaean aggression by an alliance with Ethbaal, priest of Astarte and king over both Tyre and Sidon. This alliance with Tyre for protection against Damascus became the keystone of Ahab's foreign policy.

An alliance with Tyre was no novelty in Israel's history. Both Solomon and Omri had effected alliances with that maritime Power, but these earlier treaties were commercial only. Was the alliance of Ahab merely a continuance of what had become almost a tradition, or was it a new departure in diplomacy?

Was this alliance commercial or was it military? The question is important.

In the first place, Ahab had great need of a military alliance. The security of his northern frontier was the primary necessity. It would be idle to heap up wealth from a commercial alliance if a king of Damascus could use anything like the words which the book of Kings puts into Benhadad's mouth: "Thou shalt deliver unto me thy silver and thy gold, and thy wives and thy children. Yet I will send my servants unto thee tomorrow and they shall search thy house and whatsoever is pleasant in thine eyes, they shall take away." The general condition of anarchy which obtained through much of Ahab's reign, the constant raids, by both Aramaeans and Midianites, who fell upon small parties travelling Samaria's roads, carrying away spoils and captives, emphasize the futility of a commercial alliance which piled up wealth but left the land a prey to the military superiority of Damascus.

The terms of the alliance are unusual, if a mere commercial treaty was all that Ahab had in mind. It would be wholly within the custom if Jezebel had been allowed to have her own altar and priests of her father's faith within the palace walls but the attempt to establish the worship of the Tyrian Baal Melkarth, and of the Tyrian goddess, Astarte, on an equal level with the altars and worship of Jehovah has no parallel in the previous history of either Israel or Judah. Ahab did not mean to abandon the worship of Jehovah nor to proscribe it. The fact that he gave two of his sons names which were compounded with the name *Jah*, (Ahaziah and Jehoram) clearly indicates that Ahab intended no apostasy. He planned no more than the addition of the worship of the Tyrian deities on equal terms with the worship of Jehovah. Nevertheless, the establishment of these foreign cults invited rebellion, as Ahab must have foreseen. It meant that he would have to face the unrelenting opposition of all the conservative forces of his land; the bitter antagonism of the people, the priests, and the prophets of Jehovah. The evidence of this opposition is not delayed. Elijah sprung from the soil of Gilead, a land that bred conservatism and fanatic adherence to the ancient faith, is the first and most

energetic spokesman of the opposition, but he does not stand alone. We see again the emergence of the Sons of the Prophets, those stormy petrels who appear in every hour of Israel's danger from foreign rulers or from foreign gods, and these followed Elijah in proclaiming everywhere the exclusive character of Jehovah's claims and Jehovah's worship. The complaint of Elijah: "they have forsaken thy covenant, cast down thy altars and slain thy prophets with the sword" shows the bitterness of the preaching, for Ahab slew no prophet who kept his tongue from political themes, he overturned no altar which was merely a place of sacrifice. The prophets he slew were preachers of resistance to Jezebel, to the priests who ate at her table, and to the infection of Israel's worship by these imported gods of Tyre and Sidon.

The fire thus kindled blazed on until it broke out at last in the revolt of Jehu and the slaughter of Jezebel and the sons of Ahab.

Ahab could not have been ignorant of the effect his alliance with Tyre would have upon the families, the priests, and the prophets of the old faith. Would he have challenged these forces, as no king of Judah or Israel had ever challenged them, for a mere commercial alliance, especially when that alliance would leave his frontiers open to the armies and raiding parties of Damascus? Finally, although we are told none of the terms of the Tyrian alliance, other than the marriage with Jezebel and the establishment of the Tyrian worship, we are told the terms of the other alliance effected by Ahab, that with Judah, and this was unmistakably military in its character, and follows closely what we know of the Tyrian alliance. Ahab marries his daughter Athaliah to Jehoram son of Jehoshaphat, and the worship of the Tyrian deities is set up in Jerusalem. Jehoshaphat marches with Ahab against Moab; Ahaziah, his grandson, joins Joram of Israel against the Syrians at Ramoth-Gilead, and dies with him at the hands of Jehu.

Do not the known terms of the treaty with Judah throw a light on the unknown terms of the Tyrian alliance, and are we not justified in assuming that both alliances were military as well as commercial?

But while it is easy to see what Ahab had to gain by a military alliance, the question still remains, what had Ethbaal at stake? One can see the advantage to Ethbaal of a commercial alliance, but what had he to gain by a military compact?

A glance at the map and a study of the trade routes may help us to answer. A strong Aramaean power established in Samaria, fortifying Carmel, could command all the roads by which the trade of the East or South could reach the ports of Phoenicia. Damascus, holding the gateway of Esdraelon and Samaria, could divert all traffic to Acca or to Egypt, bargaining in return for the trade of the Nile over the caravan route. The trade of Mesopotamia, of all the hinterland, including that of the port of Elath, and much of the trade of Africa could be diverted and controlled by a Damascus which held Samaria in its grasp. It was evidently vital to the welfare of Tyre that the Syrian should be kept from the plain of Esdraelon and the gateways of Samaria. Otherwise the port of Tyre might die as the Mediterranean cities died after the shifting of the trade routes in the 16th Century, and some port to the South or the North would become the center of the traffic which came by sea.

Despite Ahab's alliance with Tyre we find Damascus suddenly arising and pressing upon Samaria; the city was besieged repeatedly under Benhadad II, once being reduced to the extreme of famine, while Hazael stripped Israel of all of her possessions east of the Jordan, and throughout his long reign continually encroached upon that land. Yet Tyre sits still and lifts no hand in Israel's defense. If Ahab had effected a military alliance with Tyre, what had happened to destroy its effectiveness?

Let us go to the great gathering of Israel on Carmel. The story of the contest on Carmel evidently belongs to one of the earliest strata of the book of Kings, and probably dates from within fifty years of Elijah's time. We are justified in accepting the account of some kind of a contest upon Carmel between Elijah and the priests of Baal, before a great gathering of the people and in the presence of the king. The issue of that contest left Elijah in a position of temporary control, and he used his power to secure the massacre of the priests of Melkarth, and i

we are right in reading the priests of Astarte instead of the priests of the Asherah, then the massacre included the priests of both the Tyrian deities.

But who were these priests whom Elijah slew?

If the Baal whom Ahab had established in Israel had been the Baal of Canaan, there were many both of Canaanite stock and of Hebrew blood who were familiar with the forms, rites, and sacrifices which belonged to that altar. But the worship of Melkarth and of Astarte was new in Israel, there were none indigenous to the land who knew "the manner"[1] of these deities. The priests who had fed at Jezebel's table, and whom Elijah slew, had come with Jezebel from Tyre, they were a part of the royal cortege. Some of them may well have been fellow-priests of Ethbaal, King of Tyre and High Priest of Astarte: some of them doubtless had been connected with the royal chapel of Melkarth in Tyre, all of them were of Tyrian blood and citizenship. If the establishment of the Tyrian forms of worship and the sending of these Tyrian priests had been a part of the terms of the alliance, then the slaughter of these priests in the very presence of the king was a most brutal and insolent breaking of the alliance. When Ahab returned to Jezreel that night, he doubtless held a long and anxious conference with Jezebel. He saw the keystone of his foreign policy suddenly fallen at his feet; he saw the alliance with Tyre broken, Damascus freed from all restraint, and his borders again ablaze. There was but one dim hope: if by any means he could persuade Ethbaal that he had been as much a victim of Elijah's violence as had been the priests of Baal; that he had been powerless to avert the disaster, that he wholly repudiated it and stood detached from it and from all responsibility, there was yet some measure of hope that he could save something of the alliance from the wreckage of Carmel. But how could he speak to Ethbaal with any voice that would carry conviction? Obviously but in one way. If he could get the head of Elijah to Ethbaal before the tidings came, or at least hard upon the heels of the bearer of those tidings, all might yet be well. So the word went

[1] Cf. the colonists in Samaria, 2 Kings 17 24 ff.

forth: "The head of Elijah by about this time tomorrow." But when the servants of the king came seeking Elijah he was nowhere to be found. The one and only proof of Ahab's sincerity which might have availed to soften the grief and anger of the King of Tyre could not be presented; and so, when the narrative is resumed, it begins with the statement that "Benhadad gathered all his host together and went up and besieged Samaria and warred against it."

The effects of that scene on Carmel can be traced for long years in the history of both Israel and Judah. Because of it there is constant strife between Israel and Damascus, until pressure from Assyria gives Samaria a brief period of quiet as she waits the hour of her own fall before the very forces that gave her respite. Because of it Jehoshaphat leads forth the armies of Judah to Gilead and to Moab side by side with Israel's king. Because of it Ahaziah of Judah fights in Gilead and dies in Megiddo. Because of it Athaliah comes to Jerusalem to destroy the House of David and dismantle the Temple of Jehovah; and, finally, the very reformation of Joash is a reaction against the Tyrian paganism which the daughter of Ahab and of Jezebel had brought with her to the City of David.

MATTHEW 5 1 AND RELATED PASSAGES

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IN this paper an examination is made of those passages in the Gospels which purport to give the setting of the so-called Sermon on the Mount. The discussion revolves chiefly around the following questions:

1. What is the meaning of Mt. 5 1?
2. Has Mt. 5 1 a Marcan Source?
3. Why does Lk. represent the sermon as having been delivered on a level place instead of on a mountain, as Mt. does?
4. Is either of these two representations trustworthy? If so, which one?
5. If neither is trustworthy, can we determine the circumstances under which the sermon was delivered?
6. To whom was the sermon addressed?
7. At what point in Jesus' ministry was the sermon probably delivered?

Mt. 5 1–2 reads: "And seeing the multitudes, he went up into the mountain, and when he had sat down his disciples came unto him. And he opened his mouth and taught them, saying."

If these verses stood alone, their simplest meaning would be: When he saw the multitudes, he made his escape from them by going up into the mountain, or onto the hill, or plateau, and, after he had arrived there and had sat down, his disciples drew near to him and he opened his mouth, and taught them saying. If this be the meaning of the verses, Jesus' ascent of the mountain

was a retreat, a successful move for getting away from the crowds, and the discourse which followed was addressed to the disciples alone.

On the other hand, if these verses be read in the light of their context, their meaning is just the opposite of the foregoing, and is as follows: When he saw the multitudes, and realized that he could not conveniently address them on the low, or level ground, on which he and they were at that time, he led the way to a more convenient place, namely, a mountain top, hilltop, or plateau. The multitudes followed, and, when he had sat down in the presence of the multitudes, his disciples drew near to him, and he opened his mouth, and spoke the following discourse to the disciples in the presence of the multitudes.

The item in the context which makes possible this second meaning is the comment which is appended to the discourse and which reads as follows: "And it came to pass when Jesus had finished these words, the multitudes were astonished at his teaching, for he taught them as one having authority, and not as their scribes." Mt. 7 28–29.

Of these two opposite meanings the second is evidently that which the author intends the reader to take. But this is not to say that the author, or more properly speaking, the editor, whom for convenience we shall refer to as Mt., has correctly, or historically, represented the situation.

Mt. 7 28–29 is an editorial addition, taken from Mk. 1 22, with which it is in complete verbal agreement, except for the presence in Mt. of the words *οἱ ὄχλοι* and *αὐτῶν*. We therefore leave it out of account, and surrender the second interpretation offered above, since it rests chiefly on Mt. 7 28–29. We are thus thrown back on the first interpretation, according to which the verses constitute a report of a retreat, or retirement from the multitudes, preparatory to the delivery of the sermon to the disciples.

But we can strengthen our confidence in this simple, natural, reading of the passage, if we can show that Mt. 5 1 was constructed by Mt. out of Mk. 3 13, and that the latter reports a retreat on the part of Jesus from the multitudes. We proceed now to examine these two passages with a view to determining these points.

MK. 3 13 A REPORT OF A RETREAT

That Mk. 3 13 reports a retreat on the part of Jesus from the multitudes which had just been thronging him by the sea (Mk. 3 7–12), is borne out by more than one fact.

1. The first and the most important of these facts is that Mk. represents that Jesus in ascending the mountain was not accompanied by the multitudes, or by many, if, indeed, by any, of his sympathetic followers, or even by the Twelve, for the Twelve had not yet been chosen, but were among those whom Jesus summoned, and were selected from that number. That some of the Twelve, possibly the four who were earlier called (Mk. 1 16–20), accompanied him is probable, since he must have had some one with him, through whom, after he had reached the elevated point away from the multitudes, he summoned the particular ones whom he himself desired to have with him there. Those who were summoned are said to have "gone away to him," presumably from the seashore and from the multitudes to the mountain. Thus, they, and not the multitude, were with Jesus on the mountain.

2. The idea of a retreat from the multitudes is further registered in the reasons assigned for the appointment of the Twelve, which took place, according to Mk., when Jesus had reached the mountain, or plateau. The reasons given are that they might be with him, that he might send them forth to herald, and to have power to cast out demons. This three-fold purpose in their appointment indicates that Jesus was preparing to carry on through them, in part at least, his work of heralding the nearness of the Kingdom and of casting out demons, while he remained more in seclusion than heretofore. That Jesus would select the Twelve, and instruct them for the carrying out of this program while he was surrounded by the multitudes is not likely.

3. That Mk. 3 13 reports a retreat from the multitudes is further supported by Lk.'s parallel, Lk. 6 12–13: "And it came to pass in these days that he went out into the mountain to pray; and he continued all night in prayer to God. And when it was day he called his disciples, and he chose from them twelve, whom also he named apostles."

Lk. makes it even more clear than does Mk. that Jesus went up into the mountain unattended by the multitudes, because the multitudes are not in evidence immediately preceding the ascent of the mountain, Lk. having omitted the scene by the sea, in connection with which Mk. reports the presence of the multitudes from which Jesus made his escape by ascending the mountain. This omission is not due to Lk.'s ignorance of the seashore scene for he shows his acquaintance with that scene through the use which he makes of the crowds which formed a part of it. They constitute a part of the audience for the sermon, which he represents as having been delivered on a level place. The verbal agreements between Lk. 6 17–19 and Mk. 3 7–12 leave no doubt that they report the same incident. Lk. has therefore omitted a specific reference to the sea, has introduced a reference to an indefinite level place, and transposed the notice of the multitude, putting it after the ascent to the mountain rather than before it as Mk. and Mt. do.

Furthermore, Lk.'s omission of the seashore scene and the transfer of his reference to the multitudes, which formed a part of it, to the moment immediately following Jesus' descent from the mountain of retirement is not an accident, but is a part of Lk.'s uniform plan of altering the Marcan situation whenever Mk. reports a retreat from, or inconvenience at the hands of, the multitudes. Lk. represents Jesus as being sought after by the multitudes, as welcoming them, and as desirous of serving them, whereas Mk. represents him as being sought after by the multitudes, but as withdrawing from them to secluded spots, or to regions where they would not be apt to find him.

Inasmuch as Mt. and Lk. agree on this point, as against Mk., and since it is an important point to which reference will be made later, we cite the pertinent passages from the three Gospels. Compare Mk. 1 35–38 with Lk. 4 42–43 (no parallel in Mt.); compare Mk. 1 45 with Lk. 5 16 (no parallel in Mt.); compare Mk. 2 1–5 with Mt. 9 1–2 and Lk. 5 17–19; compare Mk. 3 9 with Mt. 12 15 and Lk. 6 17–18; compare Mk. 3 20–22 with Mt. 12 22–23 and Lk. 11 14–15; compare Mk. 6 31–33 with Mt. 14 13 and Lk. 9 10–11; compare Mk. 7 24 with Mt. 15 21 (no parallel in Lk.).

Having removed entirely the connection which, according to Mk., existed between the retreat to the mountain and the multitude by the sea, Lk. makes compensation therefor in two ways. First, he inserts the indefinite time designation, "And it came to pass in these days," thus showing that he does not regard the retirement to the mountain as a sequence to the synagogue incident, Lk. 6 6–11, with which it is brought into juxtaposition through the elimination of the seashore scene. His second compensation consists of an improvised reason for Jesus' retirement to the mountain, namely, that he might pray. There being now no apparent reason why Jesus should go to the mountain, Lk. creates one. We have another illustration of Lk.'s conversion of a Marcan notice of Jesus' retreat from the multitudes into a retirement for prayer in Lk. 5 16, cf. Mk. 1 45, where he seems to use Mk.'s reference to Jesus' retirement for prayer, Mk. 1 35, for from his parallel to that passage he omits it, Lk. 4 42.

Through his reconstruction of the Marcan material Lk. accomplishes three distinct objects. First, he avoids the implication that Jesus' retirement to the mountain was a retreat from the multitude. Secondly, he represents Jesus as seeking the multitudes rather than avoiding them. Thirdly, he provides an audience for the Sermon. But his editorial process only serves to strengthen our confidence in the greater originality of Mk.'s representation that Jesus' ascent of the mountain was a retreat from the multitudes.

4. Additional proof that Mk. 3 13 reports a retreat from the multitude, if such were needed, is found in the frequency with which this idea is recorded by Mk. See 1 35–38; 1 45; 2 1–2; 7 24. Reference to this point will be made later.

THE DEPENDENCE OF MT. 5 1 ON MK. 3 13

Having shown that Mk. 3 13 reports a retreat on the part of Jesus from the multitude to a mountain, or plateau, we proceed to show that Mt. 5 1 is dependent on Mk. 3 13, that it had originally nothing to do with the sermon, and that its use by Mt. to give the setting for the sermon is due to his editorial interest.

1. Mt.'s utilization of Mk. 3 13 in the construction of 5 1 is rendered probable by the fact that he is dependent, in part at least, on the immediate context of Mk. 3 13 for the material out of which he constructs his approach to the so-called Sermon on the Mount. Compare Mt. 4 25 with Mk. 3 7b–8.

2. Mt.'s dependence on Mk. 3 13 is rendered probable in the next place, by the fact that in the Marcan notice following this description of the crowds that sought Jesus, Mt. found the setting that suited the sermon, Mk. 3 13–19. But that which rendered it a suitable setting for the sermon was not the fact that it reported Jesus as being on a mountain, but that it reported the selection of the Twelve. The fact that this selection took place on a mountain was given to him by Mk., and was of itself probably not of paramount importance in determining the location for the sermon, as is held, for example, by H. J. Holtzmann, Loisy and Montefiore, who maintain that Mt. represents the Sermon as having been delivered on a mountain because he regards it as the counterpart in the new dispensation to the Mosaic law in the old, which was given on a mountain. But against our hypothesis it may be urged that, if it was the selection of the Twelve rather than the fact that the selection took place on a mountain that gave Mt. his preferred setting for the sermon, then Mt. would have followed Mk. more closely, and would have made of 5 1 an unambiguous record of a retreat from the multitude, and in so doing would have made it perfectly certain that the sermon was directed to the disciples and not to the multitudes, just as the form and contents of the sermon indicate.

In order to reply to this objection it is necessary to revert to the fact, already noted, that Mt. and Lk. uniformly alter Mk.'s reports of Jesus' retreat from the multitudes, whenever they make use of the material which forms a part of such reports (see page 42). These changes are not accidental; they show that Mt. and Lk. studiously avoided reproducing Mk.'s idea that Jesus retreated from the multitudes that were eager to see and hear him. This line of cleavage between Mt. and Lk. on the one hand and Mk. on the other in handling the problem of Jesus' relation to the enthusiastic multitude is one of the most

remarkable phenomena presented by the Synoptic Problem, and lies at the center of the Wrede hypothesis regarding Mk. If the attitude of Mt. and Lk. were accidental, or if it were uniformly reflected, or if it were registered simply by omissions on their part of the Marcan notices, the problem would not be of such great moment, but the evidence, which space will not permit us to give here, shows that their attitude was not accidental, that it was constant and that it is registered, not in omissions simply, but in editorial changes of Marcan material at the hands of Mt. and Lk.

The most important question raised by this phenomenon is that of the historicity of the Marcan point of view, against which Wrede decides. Upon a discussion of this question, however, we shall not enter, but shall content ourselves with considering only the line of cleavage between Mt. and Lk. on the one hand and Mk. on the other.

The natural explanation of this fact is that, since Mt. and Lk. are later than Mk., they represent a later view of the Church on this point than does Mk. That Jesus did not permit the common people who were aroused to a high pitch of enthusiasm by his ministry to show it, but retreated to desert places, to the hill country and resorted to travel incognito was presumably repulsive to the later Christian apologetic.

Now, since this post-Marcan attitude, reflected in Mt. and Lk., represented Jesus as courting the crowds rather than as retreating from them, it naturally follows that he should be represented as addressing them in formal discourse. This is just what both Mt. and Lk. do by implication in the case of the so-called Sermon on the Mount, Mt. 5 1; 7 28–29; Lk. 6 17–20a. But if this be their purpose, why do they limit themselves to implications? Why do they not state plainly that Jesus addressed the multitudes, just as they state unequivocally that Jesus addressed the disciples? The answer is that they were endeavoring to harmonize two conflicting points of view, namely, their own and that of their sermon source, Q. Just as Mk., their source for the activities of Jesus, represented an earlier point of view in the matter of Jesus' relation to the multitudes, so Q reflected an earlier point of view in the matter of the

persons addressed in the Sermon. This view, judging by the contents of the sermon, must have been that it was addressed not to the multitudes but to the disciples, possibly to the Twelve alone.

The situation presented by Mk. 3 13 was most appropriate for such a discourse. Jesus had about him on the mountain those whom he had summoned, namely "those whom he himself would". Mt. then was true to the tradition of his source, Q, in placing the sermon here.

3. Mt.'s use of Mk. 3 13 as the basis of 5 1 is rendered probable, in the third place, because of his omission of the call of the Twelve, Mk. 3 13–15. The fact that he later names the Twelve (Mt. 10 2–4) indicates his acquaintance with Mk. 3 16–19a. His omission of Mk. 3 14–15 is to be accounted for on the ground that he considers the sermon as a register of their appointment.

4. A fourth reason for holding that Mt. 5 1 is based on Mk. 3 13 is found in Mt.'s statement that Jesus' disciples approached him. This item is duplicated in Mk. 3 13 except that Mt. has *προσῆλθον* in place of Mk.'s *ἀπῆλθον*, and *αὐτῷ* for Mk.'s *πρὸς αὐτόν*. Mt. has no real need for this notice, as Mk. had. If the multitudes went to the mountain with Jesus, it is not necessary to say that the disciples were present. That fact goes without saying, as in Mk. 4 1, 10. Again if the multitudes did not go to the mountain with him it is equally unnecessary to say that the disciples approached him. The most reasonable explanation of Mt.'s use of this unnecessary item is that it is due to the fact that it was present in his source, that it is Mk. 3 13, and that he changed it to conform to the situation which he created.

CONCLUSION

The results of our study may be summarized as follows:

1. Mt. 5 1 reports a retreat on the part of Jesus and of his disciples from the thronging multitudes, rather than a transfer of the scene of his operations from a plain, or valley, to a

mountain or plateau, where surrounded by the multitudes and his disciples he could address to better advantage his large audience.

2. Mt. 5 1 is not independent of Mt.'s narrative source, but represents an adaptation of Mk. 3 13.

3. Lk. represents the sermon as having been delivered on a level place, after Jesus and his disciples had descended from the mountain, because he had no knowledge of Jesus being on a mountain with a multitude. But the discourse was associated with the mountain to which Jesus, according to Lk.'s representation, retired for prayer, and to which on the following morning he summoned his disciples that he might select the Twelve. This ceremony over, Jesus descended the mountain to the plain, or level ground, where the multitude was, and there in their presence he pronounced the discourse.

4. Neither Mt. 5 1, nor Lk. 6 17–20a is historically trustworthy. Hence we are without the data necessary to determine the circumstances under which the sermon was delivered. The probability is that it was not delivered on a mountain, or specifically in a plain. It might have been delivered on the lake, in a synagogue, or at any other convenient place.

5. The sermon was addressed to the disciples, possibly to the Twelve, apart from the multitude.

6. Harnack's view that Q represented the sermon as having been delivered to the disciples in the presence of the people because Mt. and Lk. do so ("*The Sayings of Jesus*," E. T., page 203) can not be maintained successfully.

7. We cannot determine at what point in Jesus' Ministry the sermon was delivered, but our study indicates that, as far as the Marcan narrative is concerned, its place seems to be immediately after the calling and the appointment of the Twelve, Mk. 3 13–19a. Both the Matthaean and Lucan versions of it are so placed by Burton and Goodspeed ("*A Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels in Greek*," Scribners, 1920), while only the Lucan version is located there by Huck, who places the Matthaean version immediately after Mk. 1 39 (*Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*, 5. Aufl., Tübingen). Allen places it immediately after Mk. 1 21 (*I. C. C.*, p. XV).

8. Whether or not there was such a sermon as Mt. and Lk. record we have not discussed. It may be simply a collection of originally disconnected sayings of Jesus.

9. Whether Mk. 3 13 belongs to the original Gospel tradition or to the editorial part of Mk. we have not thought it necessary to discuss in this connection.

PAUL'S COLLECTION AND THE BOOK OF ACTS

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IN the monumental work on *The Beginnings of Christianity*, now appearing under the editorship of Professor Lake and Professor Foakes-Jackson, on page 306 of the first volume, which appeared in 1920 in the form of partial prolegomena to the Book of Acts, we read this statement: "It is not surprising that the same book [the Book of Acts is meant] which in its early chapters relates the remarkable lack of poverty among the Christians, has in the end to describe the generous help sent by the Gentile churches to the poor brethren." The writer here is evidently Professor Lake, since the sentence is found word for word, in the same context, in his Haskell Lectures for 1919 (*Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity*, 1920, p. 46), in the preface to which he says, "I did not hesitate to make use of one or two paragraphs from the larger work." Homer is perhaps never more truly Homer than when he nods. The Book of Acts is nowhere more remarkable than in the fact that this "description of the generous help sent by the Gentile churches to the poor brethren" is precisely what it does *not* contain. This obvious and astounding fact obtrudes itself, in juvenile parlance, "like a sore thumb." In a very real sense, it represents *the* problem of the book. What lay in the back of Professor Lake's mind, undoubtedly, was a phrase of nine words in Acts 24 17: ἐλεημοσύνας ποιήσων εἰς τὸ ἔθνος μου παρεγενόμην καὶ προσφοράς, "I arrived [in Jerusalem] to render alms to my nation and offerings." This phrase, occurring in Paul's speech at Caesarea before Felix, is taken by practically all commen-

tators as containing, in the single word "alms" (not, as most agree, in the second word "offerings" as well), an allusion to the great Gentile collection for the Jerusalem church. Many commentators add further the truism that it is the only such allusion found in the whole work. So far, then, from a description of generous help sent by the Gentile brethren to the poor Christians in Judaea, we have, at best, a single brief allusion (in reality a single word), not in the course of the Acts-narrative but in a speech of Paul, to alms brought to the Jewish nation, without a hint that the gift came from the Gentile churches or that it was brought to the Christian brethren. The real basis for Professor Lake's statement, of course, is not "the same book" at all, but quite other "books," the Pauline letters, material from which is read into the word "alms" in the passage cited. Perhaps correctly so, as most commentators think. Whether certainly, or even probably, so, we may ask a little later.

But assuming, for the present, with Lake and the consensus of the commentators, that the word "alms" in Acts 24 17 does mean the Collection, we have yet, as said above, an astounding phenomenon. Paul is very distinctly the more important of the two apostles whose Acts are chronicled (with subordinate mention of a few others) by the annalist tradition calls Luke[1]. Much more than half the whole work is concerned exclusively with him as the propagator of the gospel. And especially is the interest in his personal fortunes, apart from the spread of the Gospel itself, marked in that part of Acts we are considering. With chapter 20, verse 3, Paul's third and last missionary journey is ended and he starts on that fatal trip to Jerusalem. The succeeding narrative, covering his journeyings, arrest, trials and arrival at Rome, occupies almost one-third of the whole work, being depicted with a wealth of detail which has no parallel in the New Testament, and few, if any, parallels in ancient literature anywhere. We are told the names of his travelling-companions on the trip from Corinth to Jerusalem, the successive stops and the length of time consumed by each

[1] The present writer regards the author of Acts as clearly another than the writer of the "We-source," who may well be the doctor Luke.

run; the course of the vessel is precisely plotted. Moreover, it is related that Paul was hastening to reach Jerusalem, if possible, by a given date; repeatedly it is said that he was warned at practically every stop that the journey was madness, that he was putting his head into the lion's mouth, that bonds and affliction awaited him in the holy city, despite all which Paul with noble firmness refused to turn back, but, like his Master before him, set his face steadfastly to go to Jerusalem. And yet there is no statement anywhere, indeed (with one exception, to be pointed out later) there is not even a hint to suggest why he was going to Jerusalem at all[2].

The whole matter begins in Acts 19 21. Being at Ephesus, "Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome." But why did he plan thus to go to Jerusalem? *We* know, because we have read his letters; he repeatedly, in such specific passages as I Cor. 16 3f., Rom 15 25, states that his one reason for going at all on such an arduous journey, at the sacrifice of other plans and at the risk of his life, was to take the collection. But the author of Acts here betrays no acquaintance with this or any other motive. Only in a much later speech of Paul, after his arrest, is there thought to be, in the single word "alms," an obscure allusion hinting at his purpose. Paley, as is well known, takes this as the first of those "undesigned coincidences" between Acts and the letters, of which he treats. He does well, for such measure of coincidence as exists is certainly undesigned. It may be noted that the statement of the journey's beginning (20 3) has simply "set sail for Syria," not till the travellers reach Miletus (20 16) is Jerusalem named as their goal. The reader may be supposed to have still in mind the statement of 19 21. But *why* is Paul so hastening that he "determined to sail past Ephesus, that he might not have to spend time in Asia" bidding a last farewell to his closest friends? *Why* must he reach Jerusalem

[2] This omission of the collection as a motive for the journey is all the more striking when we recall the writer's very keen interest, as evidenced by the third Gospel, and by other sections in Acts, in almsgiving and every similar activity of "social service."

by Pentecost?[3] *Why* does he insist on going on, in the face of repeated warnings from the Holy Spirit, like an earlier Luther going to Worms? And every-where our only reply is echo's answer, Why? We are given strongly the feeling that the journey was tremendously urgent, but no explanation of its purpose. On the arrival of the party in Jerusalem nothing happens that can clear up our perplexity in the slightest. All this haste, this daring of death itself to reach the goal and accomplish some sworn and necessary act—all this eventuates in nothing. "And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly. And the day following Paul went in with us unto James, and all the elders were present. And when he had saluted them he rehearsed one by one the things which God had wrought among the Gentiles through his ministry. And they, when they heard it, glorified God." O lame and impotent conclusion! This is surely not what Paul had taken his life in his hands for, to make this report of the third missionary journey to the Jerusalem Elders! This is only a conventionalized Lucan *cliché*, repeated from earlier contexts like 14 27; 15 3f. Here was the place, if the narrator knew what secret insistent errand drew Paul into deadly peril, to reveal it. There is no word of explanation. Why, oh why? Did Paul hand over the collection? So we, fresh from the letters, ask. Was it acceptable to the saints and received with grateful appreciation? These are major mysteries. Professor Bacon well comments (*The Story of St. Paul*, 1904, p. 192). "Did the Jerusalem church accept the gift? The question may be propounded as a Bible-class puzzle of the first grade: What became of the money Paul took to Jerusalem?" Some scholars have argued that the source here followed told of the collection and its reception, but the author of Acts, for reasons of his own, has suppressed all

[3] Incidentally, does he do so? Renan (*St. Paul*, chapter 19, first sentence, with note 1) counts the days, and decides that Paul, despite his best efforts, arrived a few days too late for the feast. Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller etc.*, 1896, chapter 13), with his detailed reckoning as to days and even hours, is wise above what is written, but he apparently thinks Paul left Caesarea in time to reach Jerusalem for the feast. The author of Acts, less minutely informed, does not say, nor can we.

this. Well and good; the "we-writer" must have known why he and his colleagues were being hastened eastward at such a rate. The collection was no secret! But what plausible "reasons of his own" can have caused the suppression on the part of the author of Acts? He has thereby made his whole story unintelligible. The magnificent tragedy of Paul's arrest at Jerusalem while on *just this errand* of peace and good-will, the whole romantic story, told with so much sympathy and vividness of appealing detail, is crippled by the omission of the one fact that would explain it all, the key to the whole situation, dramatically and humanly. That all commentators and readers of Acts have not felt this and voiced their pained amazement, is due simply to the fact that over the page, bound up with Acts, were the letters of Paul, which supplied the missing *datum* by an undesigned coincidence; inevitably all the material of the letters was imported into the Acts to make the story clear. A reader who had read *only* Acts would soon let us hear from him. It is more than doubtful whether the rather awkward and obscure phrasing (if the collection is meant) in Paul's later speech (24 17) would be understood by such a reader as in any sense filling the gap. The purpose of the journey should have been given in 19 21, with the original definite statement that Paul purposed to go to Jerusalem. If not there, then at least in the notice of what he did when he got there. If all that detailed account of the tragic journey itself is given without betraying the slightest knowledge of its purpose, is it not rather unlikely that the author knew perfectly well this purpose all the time, and refers to it in a single phrase in a later speech of Paul? Is not complete absence of the collection really more understandable than the one isolated, brief and obscure reference?

In other words, does Acts 24 17 refer to the collection at all? No commentator has, to the present writer's knowledge, hitherto doubted it. Loisy has come nearest to such doubt. He supposes that the source spoke of the collection as the motive for the voyage, which motive the redactor, for particular reasons, generally suppressed. Here, however, he decided to let pass a slight allusion to it, disguising it as "alms for the Jews." "Indeed," adds Loisy, "the reader is almost bidden suppose that the 'alms'

amount simply to the money which Paul spent for the sacrifice of the four Nazirites (21 23, 26)." It does indeed seem so. Whether, as Loisy supposes, the author of Acts is deliberately suppressing information in his possession, or whether he is honestly ignorant of the collection as the motive for Paul's visit, he seems clearly to have in mind here only such gifts and offerings by Paul as were related to *Judaism as such* (not specifically to *Christian* Jews) and were connected somehow with a service in the temple. In short, 24 17 is in exact agreement with 21 23–26, which relates how Paul, upon his arrival at Jerusalem, expended, at the suggestion of James and the elders to whom he had reported, certain sums of money for offerings in the temple in connection with four men who had a vow. This is really the carrying out of what he had come to do, as Acts conceives it. He had brought an offering of money, to present to his people at the feast-time, as pilgrims from the Diaspora were wont to do[4]. It was really to bring this offering as an act of piety toward his ancestral religion, that he had made the great journey. This is said in so many words in a passage whose decisive value in the present discussion has been strangely overlooked by commentators. In that same speech before Felix in Acts 24, Paul makes an earlier statement of the reason for his coming up to Jerusalem than the one we have been discussing. This first statement (vs. 11) is perfectly clear and definite: "I came up to worship" (*ἀνέβην προσκυνήσων*), that is, to participate in some rite of the Jewish religion. The statement is absolute and inclusive; no other purpose is hinted at. This act of worship finds some explication in succeeding verses. It naturally took Paul into the temple (vs. 12), where the trouble began. Verse 17 is only a harking back ("as I was saying") to verse 11, and repeating in slightly fuller form, what was there stated; note how verse 18 similarly repeats verse 12. Verse 19, which corresponds to verse 13, has less similarity of phrasing; with this verse Paul, now "caught up" after the digression of

[4] Cf. the Deuteronomic (16 10) legislation for Pentecost: "Thou shalt keep the feast of weeks unto Yahwè thy God with a tribute of a free-will offering of thine hand, which thou shalt give according as Yahwè thy God hath blessed thee."

verses 14–16, resumes the main current of his speech. His equivalence of verse 17 to verse 11 is curiously close:

ἀνέβην = παρεγενόμην

προσκυνήσων = ποιήσων ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ προσφοράς.

The verb forms are exactly retained. The two second aorist indicatives are synonymous here, and the future participles are precisely equivalent. The general word "worship" is resolved into the particular acts of piety which Paul had performed—pious activities in the temple, in the midst of which, ceremonially purified as he was, he was apprehended and the riot began. Thus 24 11 explains both 24 17 and 21 23–26, and makes the whole episode clear, *as Acts understands it.*

We can now understand that single earlier hint (if hint it may be called) in Acts as to Paul's purpose in coming to the holy city. It is in the words (20 16), "He was hastening, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost." That surely suggests that in the author's mind Paul was going on some religious errand, to be present at the celebration of a sacred feast. Now this particular sacred feast, Pentecost or the Feast of Weeks, was a feast of offerings and presentations, when the first-fruits and voluntary thank-offerings were brought unto the Lord, when pilgrims came from all parts of the Diaspora with their pious contributions. The Ephesian Jews, who had seen Paul and Trophimus in Asia, and now see them again in Jerusalem (21 29), are such Pentecost pilgrims. Paul is another; his presence with offerings in the city at this festival will be a signal demonstration to the many thousands of believing Jews who have been informed concerning him that he is teaching all the Jews who are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children, nor to walk after the ancestral customs, that this is without foundation. All shall know that there is no truth in the things of which they have been informed concerning him, but that he himself also walks orderly, keeping the law (Acts 21 20f., 24). The "many myriads" of Jewish disciples must have special reference to the numerous visiting pilgrims[5].

[5] A. H. Mc Neile: *St. Paul,* 1920, p. 91. "Probably .... he wished the crowd of Jewish Christians who would come up to the city to realize that he was one who loyally observed the Jewish festival."

Arrived in the city, after his long absence (24 17), Paul asks himself and others how he shall make his offering so as best to attain his object. James and the elders have an answer. "Just do what we tell you" (*τοῦτο οὖν ποίησον ὃ σοι λέγομεν*). Here are certain men under a vow; "*spend your money on them*" (*δαπάνησον* has for its implied object the money Paul has brought) and defray *ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου αὐτῶν* the expense of the *προσφορά* (vs. 26). This is how the author of Acts conceives Paul's monetary gift, how he thinks it was received, what he thinks became of it. It was brought as a religious offering, so accepted and so presented, in the temple, in religious rites. Acts thus offers a perfectly clear and consistent picture throughout, from 20 16 to 24 17. To be sure, it is not a historic picture. Paul's letters show us that this whole construction is in error; it is none the less a perfectly coherent and possible picture, and it is what the author of Acts believed to be true, on the basis of such *data* as were in his possession. It goes together with his whole picture of Paul, through which runs one fatal misconception. The subject cannot be pursued here, but we may recall 18 18, "having shorn his head in Cenchreae, for he had a vow" and the "western" reading in 18 21, *δεῖ με πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα*, which *may* possibly be the true reading. With these passages in mind, we shall not find it difficult to read a festal purpose into 19 21 and into the "setting sail for Syria" of 20 3 as into the "sailing for Syria" of 18 18. Then the departure from Philippi "after the days of unleavened bread" (20 6) is quite in order, and all the rest follows as a matter of course.

To go back briefly to 24 17. Something perhaps depends on the gender of the relative with which verse 18 begins. The feminine *ἐν αἷς* is somewhat better attested, and is adopted by Tischendorf, Westcott-Hort, von Soden, Weiss, Wendt and most others. The neuter *ἐν οἷς* of the *Receptus* is, however, favored by some modern commentators. On the whole the neuter is the more likely to have been altered; it is preceded by two feminine nouns, one of which stands next to it and in the minds of most readers would be its most natural and obvious antecedent. An original feminine *ἐν αἷς* would offer no special temptation to correction. It must be observed that, though they are separated in the text, *ἐλεημοσύνας*

and προσφοράς are common coördinate objects of ποιήσων connected by καί. Thus associated, they go together in the author's mind; the following relative, whether feminine or neuter, refers to *both*, and the whole thing, alms and offerings together, forms a single gift to Paul's nation. We cannot, as many would, separate the two objects, keeping ἐλεημοσύνας for the collection, and προσφοράς for some offerings of Paul's own in the temple[6]. The whole activity of verse 17, the presentation of alms and the presentation of offerings[7], is included in the ceremonial performances in the temple which led to the attack on Paul and his subsequent arrest.

Let us recapitulate. It was suggested to the author of Acts, either by tradition or by some misunderstood reference in his source, that on this journey to Jerusalem Paul had brought an offering of money. Knowing nothing of the Collection, he knows nothing further about the origin, purpose or ultimate use of this sum of money. But believing that Paul was coming to Jerusalem to keep the feast of Pentecost (it may well be that Paul saw a peculiar appropriateness in presenting the collection to the Jewish brethren just at this significant time; the Pentecost reference [20 16] is in the "we-source") and to show himself thereby to be no apostate, he supposes that the money would be the usual "alms and offerings" made by Jewish pilgrims to the feasts, in the temple, "to the nation." He therefore so describes it, so far as he describes it at all. Knowing little of it, he says little, and with the account of how Paul spent it (21 26) he is through with it, save for the one backward reference in 24 17. The "alms" of the latter verse, therefore, have nothing whatever to do with the Collection for the saints in Judea, and there vanishes from Acts the one infinitesimal basis for attributing to that work a "description of the generous help sent by the Gentile churches to the poor brethren."[8]

[6] So, *inter alios*, Hort: *Judaistic Christianity*, 1894, pp. 109 f. Cf. also Maurice Jones: *St. Paul the Orator*, 1910, p. 210.

[7] Could the use of the two words "alms" and "offerings" possibly be due to the reflection that Paul was bearing the expense of the rite for the four others, and also engaging in the rite himself?

[8] Cf. Mc Giffert: *Apostolic Age*, 1900, p. 351, note 5. "It looks as if Luke, knowing nothing about the collection, interpreted a reference to

Was the author of Acts entirely ignorant, then, of the great Collection? To all intents and purposes he apparently was. He had not read Paul's letters and while the "we-source" in its complete form may well have mentioned the Collection, there are many indications that he did not have access to this document in complete form. (We do not know, indeed, that it ever existed in "complete form"). We have said: to all intents and purposes. It is possible that the dim tradition of Paul bringing money to Jerusalem had reached him also in a version in which the Christians of that city were thought of as recipients. But it is most unlikely, as the above discussion makes clear, that any such notion plays a part in shaping the statement of 24 17. Much more probable is it, as has often been suggested (e. g. by Carl Clemen: *Paulus,* I, 1904, p. 215) that some such tradition, misdated and misconceived, should lie behind the earlier statement of Acts (11 30), certainly unhistorical where it stands, that Paul, with Barnabas, was sent by the Gentile disciples in Antioch to bring a ministration in time of famine to the poor brethren dwelling in Judaea.

it as applying to the offerings made in connection with the vow which Paul had assumed in Jerusalem".

"I FOUGHT WITH BEASTS AT EPHESUS"

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MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

Εἰ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος; I Cor. 15 32.

IN the long list of New Testament *cruces interpretum* these words have had a prominent place almost from the time when they were written. At least they were divergently understood as early as the second century. We know that practically as soon as the Pauline letters came into general circulation among the churches, honest readers like the writer of II Peter found in them "some things hard to be understood." Nor have modern exegetes removed all difficulties. The phrase before us, besides minor points, raises at least three questions of prime importance for its interpretation. What is meant by κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, "after the manner of men," or rather, "of man"? Did the apostle *really* fight with beasts at Ephesus, or is the phrase a figure? Why does he write: this thing happened *at Ephesus*, when according to external evidence and internal evidence alike, he is writing I Corinthians *from* Ephesus? The first two of these questions engage most of the commentators. The third is seen as a problem by only a few, yet it is a real problem. Suffice it here to say that it has led some, notably J. Weiss and H. Lisco, to separate this 32nd verse, with more or less of its context, from the original text of I Corinthians altogether.[1] As to the first question, let us render κατὰ ἄνθρωπον quite literally, *man-wise*, and let it go at that.

[1] J. Weiss, in his edition of I Cor. in Meyer's Commentary, *ad loc.*, and in *Das Urchristentum*, 1914, pp. 244f. H. Lisco, *Vincula Sanctorum*, 1900, pp. 113f., 136—140.

The second question may, however, engage us a little longer. The majority of modern commentators take the reference as figurative; Paul means: if I have had to meet the opposition of malignant enemies, like beasts in human form. The reasons given for this exegesis are familiar. Paul did not, as a matter of fact, fight with beasts at Ephesus. There is no record of such an event; Acts says nothing of it; Paul himself says nothing of it in his sorrowful letter to Corinth, where he recounts (II Cor. 11 23–29) his hardships and sufferings for the gospel, or in the hardly less moving, if more general, statements of the reconciliation letter (II Cor. 6 4–10). Further, Paul could not have been condemned to the beasts, because he was a Roman citizen; and if, in exceptional fashion, he had been, it would have meant the loss of his citizenship, of which, however, he makes use later in his appeal to Caesar. In any case, if he had been forced to fight with beasts, he would not have survived to tell the tale. And then, of course, Ignatius uses the same language in the familiar passage (Rom. 5 1) which no commentator fails to quote as disposing finally of any literal understanding of Paul's words to the Corinthians. Ignatius writes: *Ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ρώμης θηριομαχῶ διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, δεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις, ὅ ἐστιν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα.* "All the way from Syria to Rome I am fighting with beasts, by land and sea, by night and day, bound to ten leopards, namely, a detachment of soldiers." In this sense Paul meant the word, of struggles with the most violent and dangerous of his enemies during the Ephesian period, assumed Tertullian (*De Res. Carn.*, 48). So, among the moderns, have thought Meyer and Hausrath and Heinrici, Krenkel, B. Weiss, Schmiedel, Lietzmann and other Germans, with Goudge, Lias, Massie, Findlay, Beet, Stanley, Vincent, Edwards, Robertson and Plummer, Ramsay, Percy Gardner, David Smith and many more of our own speech.

On the other hand, the *Περιοδοὶ Παύλου* of the second century seems almost certainly to have contained an account of a real fighting of Paul with real beasts at Ephesus. An allusion to the story is found in Hippolytus' commentary on Daniel (earliest years of the third century), in these words: "If we believe that when Paul was condemned to the wild beasts, the

lion that was loosed upon him lay down at his feet and licked him" etc.; and it is retold at length by the fourteenth century church historian Nicephorus Callisti.[2] This account would seem to have been based on Paul's words, "I fought with beasts at Ephesus." And a long line of commentators have contended that the words are thus literally meant. We may mention the Ambrosiaster (ca. 370), Theodoret of Cyrus (ca. 450), Cajetan, Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, Cornelius a Lapide (1614), Holsten, Godet (very strongly), J. Weiss, Paul Feine, Weizsäcker and McGiffert (those two best historians of the apostolic age), Lightfoot "the prince of commentators," Oskar Holtzmann, Maurenbrecher, Albertz, Drummond, McNeile—these out of many. Some of those who think the expression figurative yet feel that the language is intelligible only as a reference to some specific incident, perhaps some experience of danger from brutal foes in the actual arena, such as might have been the sequel of the Demetrius riot described in Acts 19. So, for example, Hausrath and Krenkel. And some of those who insist that the words can have only a literal meaning do not believe that a fight of Paul with wild beasts actually took place. So, for example, Johannes Weiss (*loc. cit.*), who, after arguing very persuasively that the expression must be literal, yet cannot bring himself actually to throw Paul to the beasts, and proposes to translate: "If I *had* fought with beasts at Ephesus [as it looked at one time as if I would have to, though fortunately in the end it did not come to that] what good would it have done me?" *Wenn ich zu Ephesus den Tierkampf erduldet hätte, was hätte es mir genützt?* Weiss concedes that an uninformed reader would not get this meaning from the text, but believes that the Corinthians would, because they already knew the facts of the tragic episode, which Weiss also associates with the Demetrius riot. A. H. McNeile (*St. Paul*, 1920, pp. 85, 231 f.) is inclined to the same exegesis. The present writer would not believe himself less tender-hearted than these

[2] For the Hippolytus reference, cf. Bonwetsch's edition (in *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*), Leipzig, 1897, p. 176. For Nicephorus, cf. his Church History II, 25 *ap.* Migne: *P. G.* Vol. 145, cols. 821—824, or Carl Schmidt: *Acta Pauli*, 1904, pp. 111 f., and (in Eng. transl.) B. Pick: *Apocryphal Acts*, 1909, pp. 2 f.

scholars, but he cannot rescue Paul from the lions in this fashion. If this is what Paul meant, he would surely have said it otherwise, even to people who knew the facts. "If I had *fought with beasts*" is not quite the same as "if I had been thrown to the beasts and so met my death." The very expression *fought* (ἐθηριομάχησα) itself, without further addition, naturally suggests "went through the fight and came out alive."

As a Greek sentence, apart from considerations of historical probability, it is difficult to take the words in any but their obvious and literal sense. If there be figure, neither text nor context betrays it. As for the usual reasons, listed above, against the literal interpretation, while it may not be possible to deprive them of all force, something in return may at least be said. Acts says nothing of the event, to be sure, but Acts says nothing of many of the most important events of Paul's career, touches scarcely a single one of the serious occasions that drew out his letters, never mentions his great collection for the Jerusalem church which brought his great career to its disastrous close, never mentions those three shipwrecks which antedated the famous one on the journey to Rome, after one of which he drifted a day and a night in the deep before rescue came, never hints at that fearful θλῖψις that befell him in Asia, wherein he despaired of his life, with the sentence of death written within, or at that occasion when for his life Aquila and Priscilla laid down their own necks and thus rescued him from death, never tells of those many imprisonments, one of which was shared by his kinsmen and fellow-apostles Andronicus and Junias. No, the silence of Acts proves nothing except the paucity of its sources, among which Paul's letters were not included.

The non-mention of the incident by Paul himself in the later letters to Corinth is more serious. But these letters are written to the same church as are the words we are considering, to people, moreover, who already had knowledge of the affair. Since they already knew, and since he had explicitly mentioned it in I Corinthians, it is not so surprising that he should not recount it again a third time or a fourth time to these same people. But does he avoid allusion to it altogether? Look again at II Cor.

11 23 ff. The language is all general, citing, indeed, no specific cases (if we except the Damascus incident of verses 32f.) of the types of hardships listed. But these general terms include "prisons, stripes, *deaths*." Among these *θάνατοι* would not the Corinthians at once think of the exposure to the beasts, granting that they knew of such? "In perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the city." These *κίνδυνοι* belong, in part at least, to the city from which he writes, Ephesus; would not his readers recall at once that signal peril from the Gentiles there? Or in the reconciliation letter is the tragic experience forgotten? What mean words like these (II Cor. 6 9), "As dying, and lo we live! As stricken, and not killed!" How significant would such words be to readers who knew that Paul had escaped alive from what seemed like inevitable death in the arena! Much language of this part of II Corinthians besides is illuminated if we suppose that such an experience lies behind. "Smitten down, yet not destroyed, always bearing about in the body the putting to death of Jesus, always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake" (4 9–11), and much more of the sort. He does not describe in detail what is already familiar, but he does make allusions which every reader at once understands.

As for Paul's Roman citizenship, though it is mentioned only in Acts, there is no excuse for the skepticism of critics like Renan and Hausrath, who refuse to accept it. None the less we know too little about it, I believe, to base conclusions upon it with absolute certainty. Precisely what were the privileges of citizenship for a wandering Jew like Paul? There seem to have been grades of citizenship, a higher and a lower; it is not clear that Paul belonged to the higher, or that the lower rank was necessarily exempt from punishment in the arena. We find in the Roman juristic sources certain prerogatives of the citizen, but we must not suppose that in actual practice every citizen automatically enjoyed these exemptions in every case without exception. As we have all been learning, that which is prohibited by the fundamental law of the land does yet occur. Paul, as a citizen, *could not* be sentenced to the beasts, it is urged. Yes, and he *could not* be beaten with rods, either; but he was, three times over. Could not be sentenced to the beasts? Why

then the law: "Hi vero, qui ad ferrum *aut ad bestias* aut in metallum damnantur libertatem perdunt," or, as elsewhere phrased, "statim et civitatem et libertatem perdunt?"[3] They could not lose what they did not possess. And as a matter of fact, there is clear record of such condemnations. A letter of Asinius Pollio to Cicero tells how the quaestor Balbus in Spain "bestiis vero cives Romanos, in iis . . . . notissimum hominem Hispali . . . . objecit." Another striking and familiar instance is found in the account of the martyrs at Vienne and Lyons (Euseb. V, 1, 44 and 50). Attalus, a person of distinction, was loudly called for by the populace and led around the amphitheatre with a placard, "This is Attalus the Christian." But before he could be put to the torment, the governor was apprised that he was a Roman citizen and remanded him to the prison. A few days later, however, the governor yielded to the insistence of the mob and ordered him again into the arena to face the wild beasts.[4] If this could happen in Spain and in Gaul, it could happen in Asia.

And a further question intrudes itself. How could a wandering Jew like Paul establish his citizenship in a given case, far from his home? Did he carry a kind of passport in his pocket? A mob or a provincial governor or a tyrannous magistrate can do anything. The action first, the inquiry later. So it was at Philippi, when Paul and Silas were scourged and thrown into jail; only in the sober light of next morning do the magistrates consider that they have overstepped the laws. How often must just this situation have arisen! How nearly it arose when Claudius Lysias in Jerusalem was about to scourge Paul (Acts 22 25). Would every official, especially one with an initial animosity to this pestilent Jewish upsetter of the world, have taken Paul's bare word as to his citizenship as readily as this kindly captain

[3] "Those sentenced to the sword *or to the beasts* or to the mines lose their freedom" or "at once lose both citizenship and freedom." Cited by P. Feine, *Die Abfassung des Philipperbriefes in Ephesus*, 1916, p. 103, note 2. Feine's whole treatment here (pp. 101—108) is very valuable, with full citation of the Roman laws.

[4] These two parallels cited by Max Krenkel, *Beiträge zur Aufhellung der Geschichte und der Briefe des Apostel Paulus*, 2nd ed., 1895, p. 131.

did? The situation in Iconium, described in the partially apocryphal, but perhaps partially historical, *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, will help us to visualize circumstances under which Paul's plea of citizenship would avail him little. As for his possession of citizenship later, we know too little of the actual conditions to make this an insurmountable obstacle. He might have been thrust into the arena to fight with beasts by sudden mob-action, to which a weak or careless official yielded, without having undergone judicial trial and condemnation within the meaning of the act. Or the circumstances of his freeing may have been such as to involve restoration of his civil status. Nor do we know that a condemnation at Ephesus, especially of a vagrant preacher, would be reported and known at Jerusalem or Caesarea. If Paul said, "I am a Roman," who was there who could say, "No, you lost your citizenship some years ago when you were condemned to the beasts at Ephesus?"

As for his surviving to tell the tale, all we can say is: men did. Sometimes the lions refused to attack them, or at least to fight them with any ferocity, or so as to inflict any very serious injury. The classic case of Androcles, which Bernard Shaw has divertingly revived, is paralleled by more than one tale from the Acts of the Martyrs. Ignatius, in that same fifth chapter of his letter to the Romans, which is thought fatal to the view that Paul really faced the beasts, alludes to such cases, and there is a considerable body of illustrative material, for which reference may conveniently be made to Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire* (pp. 312, 404f.). Legend had it that such was the case with Paul. The Acta Pauli so describe the scene at Ephesus, and so it was at Iconium with the heroine of the Acts of Paul and Thecla. Sometimes, as we know, if a man fought bravely and so won the admiration of the onlookers, or if the beasts refused to attack him, so as to suggest that he was under divine protection, his release was called for by the populace, and often granted by the presiding official. That this forms a frequent *motif* in romance does not argue against its actual occurrence. So frequently, indeed, did it occur that Nero (probably *after* Paul's mission in Ephesus) made a law forbidding the officials so to act—"Ad bestias damnatos favore populi praeses dimittere

non debet"—only the emperor retaining this right.[5] What about II Tim. 4 17, which has every appearance of belonging to a genuinely Pauline passage, if anything in the Pastorals does? "The Lord delivered me out of the mouth of the lion!" Is that figurative too, and merely a quotation of Psalm 22 21? This fragment (granting genuine Pauline material in the Pastorals) may well belong to a letter from the same period as I Cor. 15, and refer to the same event.

Now as to Ignatius. It may be that he takes his phrase *θηριομαχῶ* from our passage in Paul (though the word was common enough). Whether he does or no, he takes very special pains to indicate that his words are a trope, and to explain the reference very explicitly, as if he feared it otherwise would be obscure to his readers. "All the way from Syria to Rome [Paul says: at Ephesus] I am fighting with beasts [Paul says: I fought, aorist of the single completed act], by land and sea, by night and day [*of course* this is not a real combat in the arena!], bound to ten leopards, *that is*, a detachment of soldiers." Because Ignatius here uses an extended, obvious, and carefully explained figure, it does not in the least follow that Paul was dealing in figures when he wrote, "Like any other man I underwent the beast-fight [for the term is thus technical] at Ephesus." It is significant that where Ignatius himself uses the word *θηριομαχεῖν without* such explanation of figurative meaning (as he does in *Eph.* 1 2, *Trall.* 10), he means quite literally the encounter with the beasts to which he looked forward in Rome. It was surely this tragic familiarity with the literal word in these days that suggested its single figurative use in *Ad Rom.* 5 1. Just so when Paul uses the term without explanation, I submit that these simple words could not have been understood otherwise than literally by the readers at Corinth.[6] They had never compared the Ignatian parallel! It is true that ancient authors sometimes compare wild men with wild beasts, but there is no evidence (outside the words we are considering) that *θηριομαχεῖν* without explanation was ever used as such a figure. The term,

[5] The text of this law given by Feine, p. 104 and Krenkel, p. 134 note 2. Cf. also H. Lisco: *Vincula Sanctorum*, 1900, p. 113.

[6] This is urged strongly by J. Weiss, *ad loc.*

let us repeat, is technical, made from the noun *θηριομάχης* (or *-μάχος*) which served as the equivalent of the Latin *bestiarius*. The verb had really no other use than the specific reference to the combats in the arena. The English phrase "I fought with beasts" might be used by a traveller who was attacked by bears or wolves as he passed through a forest; the single word *ἐθηριομάχησα* could never suggest this to a Greek hearer, but only the bloody sport of the amphitheatre.[7] So the Corinthians would infallibly take it. They were simple folk, who knew the arena well and understood its language, and there is nothing here to suggest that what is said is not what is meant. If it is a figure, how would its significance be clear to them? And had not Paul earlier in the same letter (4 9) written words that would irresistibly compel the literal understanding? *ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐσχάτους ἀπέδειξεν ὡς ἐπιθανατίους, ὅτι θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις.* "*Us the apostles did God expose as at the last extremity, as face to face with death, in that we became a theatrical spectacle before the world, before angels and men!*" Surely it is a mistake to water down the definite reference to a specific combat at Ephesus into a general declaration of the kind of human opposition he met "day by day in every way" wherever he went as a missionary.

There remains one final consideration, which would seem to make anything but a literal interpretation so difficult as to be practically impossible. The context *imperatively demands* an experience in which Paul actually stood face to face with death, with absolutely no earthly hope of rescue. The whole chapter concerns itself with the resurrection from the dead, and has come to a fine climax in its direct *argumentum ad hominem* *εἰ ὅλως νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται*—if dead men do not rise, *why* . . .? Why do we stand in jeopardy every hour? (*κινδυνεύομεν* here means *risk our lives*). Yes, every day I die! (*ἀποθνήσκω* I risk death). If (to take a specific outstanding case) I fought the beasts in Ephesus, what is the use, if the dead never rise? To say that the central phrase means "I struggled against bitter opponents" is to make the appeal an anti-climax and to drop

[7] Cf. Krenkel, pp. 132, 138.

wholly out of the context. It *must be* the specific and striking illustration of Paul's hourly hazard, of his daily death. It must be an experience which placed him to all intents and purposes among the *νεκροί*, his escape from which was a veritable resurrection.

This should be decisive. Other considerations will have to be adjusted to this and room will have to be made in the glorious tale of the great apostle's career for an appearance in the arena. As we construct our picture of the heroic tent-maker who bore about in his own body the slaying of Jesus his Master, we can reduce to concrete and tragic realism one of those *θάνατοι πολλάκις* which beset him wherever he went. This may help to make all the rest real, and to estimate the meaning of his words: "Not life, not death, can separate us from the love of God!"

Yes, Paul faced the beasts. Make the struggle as brief or as bloodless as you will, save our hero in any way you can, adjust the matter of his citizenship by any conjectures available to you, you cannot, as a historian, successfully imitate certain of the Ephesian Asiarchs "who, being his friends, sent unto him and besought him not to adventure himself into the theatre."

THE READING οἷς οὐδέ IN GAL. 2 5

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SCHOLARS are deeply indebted to Ernest D. Burton for his careful and accurate *Commentary on Galatians* in the "International Critical" series. We waited long for it, but our patience was rewarded. Whatever faults may be found, industry, accuracy, and caution are in evidence, features especially appropriate to a series of this character.

They are supremely requisite for the treatment of a passage at once so difficult and so vital to a historical appreciation of the most critical period of early church history as Paul's account of his conference at Jerusalem with the "Pillars" in Gal. 2 1–10. Perhaps most of all in verse 5, where the interpreter has to contend not only with ambiguities created in part by a broken grammatical construction (in the generally accepted reading) but also with variants current since the earliest witnesses to the text.

With his habitual caution Burton here takes sides with the majority of modern scholars against the Western reading. It has indeed in modern times the support of few besides Klostermann and Zahn. But we cannot feel that it has received full justice in Burton's curt dismissal, which relegates the interpretation of Zahn to a footnote. Let me cite in full the treatment accorded to this question on page 79 of the Commentary.

> Of the numerous constructions that have been adopted for the phrase διὰ . . . ψευδαδέλφους the following may be named: 1. Those which make it limit some following word. (a) εἴξαμεν. So, omitting οἷς οὐδέ in verse 5, Tert. *et al.*, and in

modern times Zahn. This yields the sense, "but because of the false brethren... I yielded for a brief space." This may be dismissed because based on a text insufficiently supported by textual evidence, and giving the impossible sense that Paul yielded by way of the subjection demanded by the false brethren that the truth of the Gospel might continue with the Gentiles.

To this Burton subjoins a footnote as follows:

Zahn, like Tert. before him, finds the yielding and the subjection to have been to the pillar apostles and in the fact of coming to Jerusalem to submit this question to the apostles there (not in the circumcision of Titus, which he maintains Paul denies to have taken place) yet supposes that it was not demanded by the apostles, but more probably by the Antioch church. See *Com.* pp. 93*f.* A stranger distortion of the record it would be hard to imagine.

A textual note on verse 5 (p. 85) gives the evidence and Burton's deduction from it as follows:

Οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν. The reading at this point has been the subject of extended discussion, especially by Klostermann, *Probleme im Apostoltexte*, pp. 36*ff.*, Sief. *Com. ad loc.*, and Zahn *Com. ad loc.* and Excurs. 1. The principal evidence may be summarized as follows:

(1) πρὸς ὥραν (without οἷς οὐδέ): D* de plur. codd. lat. et gr. ap. Victorin. codd. lat. ap. Hier. al. Iren. *int.* Tert. Victorin. Ambrst. Pelag.

(2) οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν: codd. gr. et lat. ap. Ambrst., quidam (codd.?) ap. Victorin. Mcion. Syr. (psh.), and (accg. to Sief.) one ms. of Vg.

(3) οἷς πρὸς ὥραν: Jerome quotes certain persons as asserting: *et hoc esse quod in codicibus legatur latinis, "quibus ad horam cessimus."* Primasius (XI 209, quoted by Klostermann, p. 83; *cf.* Plummer, *Com. on 2 Corinthians*, p. lv.) says: *Latinus habet: "quibus ad horam cessimus."* Sedulius: *Male in Latinis codicibus legitur: "quibus ad horam cessimus."*

(4) οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν: ABCDcorr. FGKLP, 33, and Grk. mss. generally, f g Vg. Syr. (psh. harcl.) Boh. Arm. Aeth.

codd. gr. ap. Hieron.; also Bas. Epiph. Euthal. Thdrt. Damas. Aug. Ambr. Hier.

Klostermann and Zahn adopt the first reading. Tdf. Treg. WH. Ws. RV. and modern interpreters generally, the fourth. The evidence shows clearly that the difficulty of the latter reading was early felt, and that, for whatever reason, a syntactically easier text was current among the Latins. The evidence against *οἷς οὐδέ*, however, is not sufficient to overcome the strong preponderance in its favour, or the improbability that anyone would have introduced the anacoluthic *οἷς*. But since the reading *οἷς* without *οὐδέ* is very weakly attested it remains to accept the reading which has both *οἷς* and *οὐδέ*.

Before considering whether the older and shorter reading rejected by Burton and the moderns generally gives (as he declares) an "impossible sense," scientific method requires that we should first consider the textual evidence. Afterwards we may apply our results to Burton's statement that "the evidence against *οἷς οὐδέ* is not sufficient to overcome the strong preponderance in its favor, or the improbability that anyone would have introduced the anacoluthic *οἷς*."

Let me first repeat in simpler terms the explanation of the variant readings which commends itself to Burton. It is as follows: Paul wrote *οἷς οὐδέ πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν*. Burton renders this "to whom not for an hour did we yield by way of the subjection (demanded)." But this forms an anacoluthon. Noone could tell what ought to follow, because the sentence had begun *διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους*. It might provisionally be rendered, "Now it was because of the false brethren surreptitiously brought in;" but commentators agree to disagree as to what "it" would refer to. The sense is hopelessly obscured. Hence in order to make the text "syntactically easier" the words *οἷς οὐδέ* were omitted by copyists, making Paul responsible for "the absurd statement that, in order that the truth of the gospel that men are free from law might abide with the Gentiles, he yielded to the demand of the legalists and did as they required" (p. 86). Some texts have both the anacoluthon and the "absurdity," but this form is "very weakly attested," and may

be assumed by common consent to be secondary. Such is Burton's explanation of the variants.

All critics will agree that one of the factors to be considered is the arbitrary dealing of Marcion with the text (ca. 140) and Tertullian's reply (ca. 220). Tertullian accuses Marcion of misrepresenting Paul's deferential attitude toward the Pillars in "yielding to the submission that was demanded on account of the false brethren" and (in general) of interpolating the text. Marcion had *οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν* "not even for an hour," a flat contradiction of Tertullian's "we yielded for an hour," together with a cancellation of the anacoluthic *οἷς*. Neither Marcion's reading nor Tertullian's has any "syntactical" difficulty, but those who took Tertullian's view of Paul's attitude toward the Pillars and encountered Marcion's negative in the text would be strongly inclined to regard it as one of his notorious and arbitrary interpolations. As Burton views the case the suspicion was unjust. Marcion did not interpolate the negative, but only made the text "syntactically easier" by cancelling *οἷς* and so removing the anacoluthon, a real improvement stating what Paul really meant, but grammatically. As Zahn views the case the suspicion was well founded. Marcion changed the sense. But Tertullian was also wrong. Paul did acknowledge yielding, but not what Tertullian understands.

The strength of Burton's view is "the improbability that anyone would have introduced the anacoluthic *οἷς*." But Tertullian's text has the older attestation. It is a typical case of "Western non-interpolation." Marcion's interpolation would be of the most obvious kind, and its prevailing in the later Alexandrian and Syrian types of text would be just what the apparent "absurdity" of the non-interpolated text would lead us to expect. But does Burton's explanation explain?

Remembering that the critic's task is to choose that one among attested readings which combines fidelity to the context with explanation of the origin of all the variants let us examine the relation of the four, designating them, in the order given by Burton, the Western, the Marcionite, the Latin, and the Alexandrian. These names are based simply on the character of the attestation, which will not be disputed. Probably all

critics will also agree that readings (2), the so-called Marcionite, and (3), the Latin, are secondary. Noone would think of adopting either as the original. Nevertheless they may be important for the explanation of other variants.

Of the two readings which remain, (1), the Western (without οἷς οὐδέ), and (4), the Alexandrian (with οἷς οὐδέ), both are admittedly "difficult." The Western (adopted by Zahn) gives one sense which Burton justly calls "impossible." Tertullian is our unimpeachable witness that early in the third century this sense was commonly taken to be the intended meaning, and if so this reading must indeed be rejected; for however acceptable in Tertullian's day, the interpretation flatly contradicts the context. Paul certainly did not mean to say "I yielded to the demand for the circumcision of Titus on account of the pressure brought to bear by the false brethren." It is only by interpreting in another sense than Tertullian's that the reading can be admitted.

On the other hand the introduction of "the anacoluthic οἷς" before οὐδέ can be accounted for by the wish to avoid the representation that Paul showed an unyielding attitude toward the Pillars, and to make it clear that not these but the false brethren were the objects of his resentment. On this supposition the Alexandrian reading (4) would be tertiary, a softening of the too peremptory Marcionite (2). The "weakly attested" Latin (3), which all will admit to be unauthentic, will of course be easily accounted for as due to conflation of (1) and (4). Whether the "strong preponderance" of manuscript authority in favor of (4) should prevail against the thin but very early stream of (1) is a question to be settled by analogy of other "Western non-interpolations." We must choose between these two.

If there is "difficulty" with the Alexandrian reading (4) such as to give rise to variants (apart from the anacoluthon produced by the introduction of οἷς) it can only be in the odium attaching to all Marcionite readings. But we can attach very little weight to such a plea in view of the fact that not only were Marcionite supplements such as the Prologues current in the West, but in this specific case the reading of Marcion (2) was in fact quite widely adopted both in East and West in spite of Tertullian's protest.

On the supposition that reading (4) was the original, reading (2) can very easily be accounted for. Marcion, its author, removed the anacoluthon by simple cancellation of the superfluous οἷς. The marvel will be only that it was not done before. Paul, it is true, has been guilty elsewhere (in fact in the very next verse) of leaving a sentence unfinished, though it might be difficult to point to another case in which he has "made shipwreck of the grammar" to the obscuration of his meaning, if not the total loss of it, on an issue of vital importance. But if we can credit Paul with such bad composition in such a vital context there will be no difficulty at all in accounting for the variants. Marcion made the self-evident correction, later transcribers went further and cancelled the authentic οὐδέ also, to remove what they regarded as Marcion's false representation of conflict between the apostles.

If, on the other hand, we assume the Western reading (1) as the original, there will be quite enough of difficulty to account for all the variants, as we have seen; but difficulty of a very different character, not a difficulty of syntax, but of the sense. Paul will have averred that "on account of the false brethren" and their nefarious work he yielded τῇ ὑποταγῇ for the time being, in order that ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου might remain. Understood as Tertullian understood this it is more than a "difficult" sense to ascribe to Paul. It is out and out "impossible." But (as Zahn has shown) it is by no means the only sense. Nor could Tertullian himself have been led into adopting it had he known (as the Galatians doubtless did) that Titus was not a circumcised man. For in spite of the doubts expressed by Professor Lake on this point[1] this seems to us a self-evident assumption. Either way we have quite difficulty enough to account for Marcion's introduction of his peremptory οὐδέ.

Thus with a very even division of the manuscript evidence (for the "strong preponderance" claimed by Professor Burton for the Alexandrian reading would seem to be at least counterbalanced by the Western non-interpolation type of its alter-

[1] *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 276 ff. Lake is undecided as between readings (1) and (4), but also regards it as possible that Paul circumcised Titus, which Burton (p. 81) denies.

native) we have perhaps an equally even division of the transcriptional. Granted either the Western or the Alexandrian form as original the other three can easily be derived from it. In these circumstances we are inevitably thrown back upon the context. As between the two readings, both of which involve difficulty, that one must be chosen in which the difficulty is more apparent than real. That must be rejected in which on closer scrutiny the difficulty turns out to be more real than apparent.

On the surface it seems a very easy supposition that Paul here made a grammatical slip which Marcion corrected by the simple process of cancelling the οἷς. But is this supposition after all so easy as it looks? It involves for Professor Burton (and in this inference, if we grant the premisses, he seems to be correct) the supposition that the nefarious "false brethren" who "sneaked in" to spy out the liberty of their more liberal brethren were recently admitted members of the church at Jerusalem, or "the Christian community in general;" whereas it is surely more natural to identify them with those whom Acts 15 1 describes as "certain men which came down from Judaea (to Antioch) and taught the brethren saying, Except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses ye cannot be saved." It is hard to imagine the primitive church in Jerusalem, or even "the Christian community in general" in this period as a field in which there was any appreciable liberty to spy out (cf. Acts 21 20 f.). With all due "allowance for the heat of controversy" it does not seem probable that Paul would apply to the conservative element at Jerusalem language only paralleled in its severity by the denunciation of II Cor. 11 4–15. We must at least suppose that he has chiefly in mind certain individuals, who (like the intruders at Corinth) "stretched themselves overmuch to go beyond their measure in other men's province in regard of things ready to their hand." Professor Burton admits that the conference between Paul and the Pillars at Jerusalem since it was "private" necessarily excludes the presence of these men (p. 117). But he thinks it not improbable that they had gone to Antioch from Jerusalem and returned in the wake of Paul and Barnabas in such a way as to exert indirectly a pressure upon him through "James and Cephas and John." In addition to this duplication

of the pressure, first at Antioch, afterwards at Jerusalem, the interpretation of Lightfoot, here adopted by Burton, involves much 'reading between the lines.'

Professor Burton does well, in our judgement, to reject all proposed methods of filling out the anacoluthon of the Alexandrian text save that of Lightfoot. In his own rendering this gives the sense: "And not even Titus... was compelled to be circumcised, and[2] (what shows more fully the significance of the fact) it was urged because of the false brethren." Two considerations make it easier to adopt this somewhat difficult transition. (1) If Paul's intention when he began the sentence was to explain the action of the Pillars in putting pressure upon him rather than his own action in resisting, he would naturally continue with the subject *οἱ δοκοῦντες*, as is actually the case (verse 6). (2) If (as Lightfoot holds) "he intended to add 'the leading apostles urged me to yield'", but was diverted into a use of the first person (*εἴξαμεν*) by his eagerness to deny at once any yielding to the false brethren, it would be not unnatural to resume in a form wich implies the intention to continue in the first person ("but from the *δοκοῦντες we received* nothing"), breaking off in a second anacoluthon which resumes with the subject in the third ("but to me the *δοκοῦντες* added nothing"). The correction of Paul's syntax required by this view would give in free rendering: "And not even Titus was compelled to be circumcised. Now it was on account of the false brethren (that the leading apostles urged me to yield). To the false brethren, however, we gave way not even for a moment. But the Pillars, highly esteemed as they are by us all, made no addition whatever to my message."

This sense, if it be permissible to read so much between the lines, is compatible with the context and with the history so far as it can be reconstructed. But Lightfoot manifestly does not overstate the case when he comments: "The counsels of the Apostles of the Circumcision are the hidden rock on which the grammar of the sentence is wrecked." We *can* adopt this rendering if need be; but there is no escape from grammatical

[2] Does not Professor Burton mean "although"?

difficulty under the Alexandrian text unless by the "joining of the phrase ("Now it was on account of the false brethren") with ἀνεθέμην or ἀνέβην advocated by some of the older modern expositors;" a rendering which while yielding (as Burton admits) "a not unreasonable sense, and avoiding many of the difficulties encountered by the other constructions," is excluded by the necessity placed upon the reader of supplying mentally a word left so far behind.

From the Alexandrian reading, whose difficulty seemed on the surface so easy to remove, but which in the end drives us to an extreme of tacit understanding, let us turn to the Western, which at first strikes the reader as "impossible," because he takes it as did Tertullian, not having the knowledge open to the Galatians that Titus was uncircumcised.

Here we note first of all that the sense which according to Professor Burton is "not unreasonable" and "avoids many of the difficulties encountered by the other constructions" becomes perfectly admissible; because the reader is not obliged to "mentally supply a word left far behind." On the contrary, in the Western form of the text the sentence moves straight forward after the full stop at the end of verse 3 ("But not even was Titus compelled to be circumcised"). Proceeding in the language of Professor Burton's own rendering we read next: "Now it was because of the false brethren surreptitiously brought in, who sneaked in . . . to bring us into bondage, that we gave way for the moment τῇ ὑποταγῇ, that the ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου might be safeguarded for you." We leave untranslated for the present the terms which are likely to raise objection, in order to call attention to the patent fact that *if* a reasonable sense can be found for these, no difficulty whatever remains as to the opening clause (διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους κτλ.). Paul is continuing the explanation of his change of policy. Up to the time when the "false brethren" sneaked in for their nefarious work he had consistently maintained an attitude of independence toward "those who were apostles before him." He had carried this policy of non-intercourse to an extent which many who did not appreciate his reasons would regard as extreme. He had reason, however, as the event showed, to hold his head high on

this matter of his personal authority as an independent apostle, not taking any action which might lend color to the charge that he obtained his gospel "from men or through a man." But a change of policy became necessary. After fourteen years of unmolested and fruitful work among the Gentiles, opposition from Judaea began to make itself felt. The counteragitation became so serious that Paul feared his whole work past and future might be jeopardised. He was even placed in a position where he had to choose between holding to his personal authority as an independent apostle, and safeguarding to the Gentile world "the truth of the gospel." For he was directly challenged to a comparison of his gospel with that of the eye-witnesses. Under such circumstances Paul's choice was inevitable. On the question of going up to Jerusalem to submit his gospel to them who were apostles before him he now reversed his policy. Of course he did so reluctantly, knowing full well how the Judaizers would point to it as proving a ὑποταγή which placed him in a position of lower rank or "subordination" to the personal disciples of Jesus. This too was not so much a matter of personal dignity and self-respect as of concern for the reception of his gospel. Without the prestige of first-hand apostleship his work would undoubtedly suffer. But it was only πρὸς ὥραν. His prestige might suffer "for the time being," or "momentarily" from his consent to submit his gospel to the approval or disapproval of the Pillars. In the end he would be able to prove an apostleship from God of unexcelled authority. Hence, as the peril to the missionary work in which he and Barnabas were jointly engaged became more and more apparent, Paul "yielded" (εἴξαμεν). The yielding was of course not on the issue of "the truth of his gospel," but on the issue of "the submission demanded," and even so not a permanent ὑποταγή, nor a yielding of the principle involved, but only a concession "for the time being." Paul associates Barnabas with himself in this "yielding", thus seeming to imply that Barnabas too had felt a reluctance like his own to submitting the question involved to such a tribunal. Barnabas as well as Paul had reason to know how great a mental enlargement through the grace of the Lord Jesus must come to these δοκοῦντες if they should actually approve without reserve the

gospel Paul was preaching among the Gentiles. The fact that they did so must have seemed a remarkable confirmation of the "revelation" by which Paul's last objections to going up were removed. If the result had not been to his mind such a confirmation of the "revelation" he would hardly have mentioned its occurrence.

In the preceding paragraph we have already shown in what new sense the two contrasted terms ἡ ὑποταγή and ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου may be taken. They may refer respectively to the two issues which all interpreters regard as fundamental to the struggle, and which Paul clearly differentiates in the outline of his argument. By ἡ ὑποταγή he would mean the inferiority in rank and authority to the δοκοῦντες which the "false brethren" were determined to force upon him. They made plausible demand indirectly, through the leaders of the *Antioch* church (so Zahn), that Paul and Barnabas, if their gospel of uncircumcision was to be allowed free course, should submit it to the approval of the Jerusalem Pillars. It was a very shrewdly conceived dilemma, which (as we have seen) Paul could not entirely escape. If he yielded he confessed ὑποταγή, if he refused it would be held that he feared to submit the truth of his gospel to the judgement of the most authoritative and authentic witnesses of Jesus' teaching. For it is hardly necessary to add that by ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Paul means the matter of greater consequence, the continuation of his proclamation of salvation by grace "apart from works of law" to which the "false brethren" were interposing more and more serious obstacles. The course Paul actually took in obedience to "a revelation" was undoubtedly the right one, though involving no small sacrifice, and a very large element of faith in the Christian good sense of the Pillars, as well as faith in the God who had revealed his Son in Paul. It was justified by the event, though many years of struggle were to intervene before Paul could entirely recover the prestige of his apostleship, placed anew in jeopardy by the "cowardice" of Peter at Antioch. His loss was our gain; for the vindication of the διακονία τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης to which Paul was forced at Corinth remains the noblest defence of the liberty of the Spirit in the whole history of religious teaching.

We come thus finally to a choice between the two alternate readings in Gal. 2 5. Both alike show difficulty; otherwise we should have no explanation of the variants. The difficulty with the Alexandrian (which, although admittedly of later attestation, has the support of the great uncials and a great majority of modern critics) is a matter of syntax, seemingly easy to correct, in fact very early corrected by the arbitrary pen of Marcion. But Marcion's cancellation of "the anacoluthic οἷς," easy as it seems, yields no satisfactory result. As emended the passage adjusts itself as ill as before to the context as a whole, and to the character of Paul. Unemended the Alexandrian text is far from satisfactory. Witness the widely varying attempts at rendering. The contrary is the case with the Western. Here on the surface the difficulty is so great that modern critics have pronounced it "impossible." To Marcion it clearly was so; for he plumply inserts in it the negative οὐδέ. But closer scrutiny reveals the fact that the sense which superficial or biased interpreters such as Tertullian imposed upon it is not the only one. Rendered as the context requires, with due regard for the two issues between which Paul was forced to choose, his prestige as an apostle, and free course for his free gospel, this early reading loses its difficulty. We cannot indeed regard is as so superior to the Alexandrian as to compel its adoption; but regarded as an alternative, it offers nothing un-Pauline. Interpreted as above it may even shed new light on the most vital, and at the same time one of the most perplexing incidents in the primitive history of our faith.

BASILIDIAN CHRONOLOGY AND NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION[1]

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CLEMENT of Alexandria gives us the following account of Basilidian gospel chronology.[2]

[1] Abbreviations: ANF = *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, DB = Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*, DCB = *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Smith and Wace, HE = *Historia Ecclesiastica*, HRE = Herzog's *Realencyclopaedie*, NH = *Naturalis Historia*, PG = *Patrum Graecorum*, PL = *Patrum Latinorum*, T. u. U. = *Texte und Untersuchungen*, VC = *Vita Constantini*.

[2] Clement of Alexandria *Stromata*, 1 Cap. XXI, 145, 1—146, 4, ed. Stählin, p. 90. *Ἐγεννήθη δὲ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκέλευσαν ἀπογραφὰς γενέσθαι ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτ' ἀληθές ἐστιν, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν γέγραπται οὕτως· "ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐγένετο ῥῆμα κυρίου ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Ζαχαρίου υἱόν." καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ. "ἦν δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὡς ἐτῶν λ'." καὶ ὅτι ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον ἔδει αὐτὸν κηρῦξαι, καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται οὕτως· "ἐνιαυτὸν δεκτὸν κυρίου κηρῦξαι ἀπέστειλέν με." τοῦτο καὶ ὁ προφήτης εἶπεν καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. πεντεκαίδεκα οὖν ἔτη Τιβερίου καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα Αὐγούστου, οὕτω πληροῦται τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἕως οὗ ἔπαθεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἔπαθεν ἕως τῆς καταστροφῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ γίνονται ἔτη μβ' μῆνες γ', καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς καταστροφῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἕως Κομόδου τελευτῆς ἔτη ρκβ' μῆνες ι' ἡμέραι ιγ'. γίνονται οὖν ἀφ' οὗ ὁ κύριος ἐγεννήθη ἕως Κομόδου τελευτῆς τὰ πάντα ἔτη ρ,ζδ' μὴν εἷς ἡμέραι ιγ'. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ περιεργότερον τῇ γενέσει τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον τὸ ἔτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν προστιθέντες, ἣν φασιν ἔτους κή Αὐγούστου ἐν πέμπτῃ Παχὼν καὶ εἰκάδι.*

οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτάζουσι προδιανυκτερεύοντες (ἐν) ἀναγνώσεσι. φασὶ δὲ εἶναι τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην τοῦ Τυβὶ μηνός, τινὲς δὲ αὖ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός. τό τε πάθος αὐτοῦ ἀκριβολογούμενοι φέρουσιν οἱ μέν τινες τῷ ἑκκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Φαμενὼθ κε', οἱ δὲ Φαρμουθὶ κε'· ἄλλοι δὲ Φαρμουθὶ ιθ' πεπονθέναι τὸν σωτῆρα λέγουσιν. καὶ μήν τινες αὐτῶν φασι Φαρμουθὶ γεγενῆσθαι κδ' ἢ κε'.

Line 7: *πεντεκαίδεκα οὖν ἔτη—πεντεκαίδεκα* Usener *πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ οὖν ἔτει—πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ* L.

Our Lord was born in the twenty eighth year, when first they ordered the census to be taken in the time of Augustus; and since all is true, it is written in the gospel of Luke thus: "In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar the word of the Lord came to John, the son of Zacharias," and again in the same (book): "And Jesus was coming to his baptism being about thirty years old." And since it was necessary for him to preach only one year this also is written thus; "He sent me to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." This both the prophet said and the gospel. Fifteen years then of Tiberius and fifteen of Augustus, thus are filled up the thirty years until he suffered. From the time that he suffered to the destruction of Jerusalem there are 42 years and 3 months and from the destruction of Jerusalem to the death of Commodus 122 years, 10 months and 13 days. There are then in all from the birth of Christ to the death of Commodus 194 years, one month and 13 days. There are those who over-curious have determined not only the year, but even the day of our Savior's birth, which they say was the twenty eighth year of Augustus, the 25th of Pachon. The followers of Basilides celebrate the day of his baptism also, spending the night before in reading. They say that it was the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar, the 15th of the month Tybi, but some the 11th of the same month. Some reckoning accurately place his passion in the sixteenth year of Tiberius on the 25th of Phamenoth, others on the 25th of Pharmuthi. Still others say that the Savior suffered on the 19th of Pharmuthi. Some of them indeed say that he was born on the 24th or 25th of Pharmuthi.

We get then the following dates. For the

BIRTH the 28th year of Augustus. This is to be inferred from the fact that the "over-curious" mentioned just before the Basilidians placed the birth on the 25th of Pachon in the

10: ρκβ' Usener ρκη' L, μῆνες ι' historisch falsch (μῆνες γ' ἡμέραι κγ' Usener). H. Browne (*Journal of Sacred and Classical Philology* Cambridge 1854, p. 328) reads ρκα'. Usener (*Weihnachtsfest*, p. 5, note 3) comments "ρκα' schrieb Dindorf nach Browne willkürlich," but a simple addition will show that Browne's reading is necessary to give the required sum.

28th year of Augustus. When Clement comes to the Basilidians he gives their days for the birth, but not the year. The inference is that it is the same. The days for the birth are the 24th and 25th of Pharmuthi. We get for the BAPTISM the 15th year of Tiberius, Tybi 15th and 11th; for the DEATH the 16th year of Tiberius, Phamenoth 25th, Pharmuthi 25th and Pharmuthi 19th.

The ministry will have covered only the "acceptable year,"[3] Tiberius 15—16. If Jesus was born in the 28th year of Augustus and commenced his ministry in the fifteenth of Tiberius, he will have been at that time "about thirty."[4]

These dates have nowhere been satisfactorily explained. Hozakowski[5] deals only with the chronology of Clement in this passage. H. Browne[6] makes some very valuable contributions by working out the equivalents of some of the dates in the *annus vagus*, but gives up the rest. Turner[7] eliminates "the three Basilidian dates (for the crucifixion) as probably mere Gnostic fancies." Fotheringham[8] suggests that they were derived from the *dies aegyptiaci* of Philocalus, which were as follows:[9] January 2, 6, 16, February 7, 25, March 3, 24, April 3, 21, May 3, 21, June 7, 20, July 6, 18, August 6, 21, September 2, 19, October 3, 20, November 2, 24, December 4, 14. But the Basilidian dates do not exactly correspond. The closest approximation is that between April 20th and 21st. Further, T. Mommsen has conclusively demonstrated that the *dies aegyptiaci* are not Egyptian at all, but derived from the purely Roman *dies Senatus legitimi*.[10] The variation in the lists also indicates that the dates were not derived from a fixed foreign source.[11] The term *aegyp-*

[3] Lk. 4 19.

[4] Lk. 3 23.

[5] *De Chron. Clem. Alex.*, Diss., Münster 1896.

[6] *Journal of Sacred and Classical Philology*, Cambridge, 1854, vol. i, pp. 327—336.

[7] *D. B.*, art. *Chronology of the N. T.*, p. 415, left column.

[8] *Journal of Philology*, vol. xxix, art. *The Date of the Crucifixion.*

[9] *CIL.*, T. Mommsen, vol. 1, p. 374.

[10] *ibid.*

[11] Ginzel, *Math. u. Tech. Chronologie*, III, 231, cf. Grotefend, *Zeitrechn. d. deutsch. Mittelalt. u. d. Neuzeit*, I. Bd., 36, cf. also Mommsen, *op. cit.*

tiaci was used because Egypt was a land of ill omen, or because all things mathematical were supposedly derived thence.[12] Since Basilides had no contact with Rome we may eliminate this source for his dates. We are left, therefore, without any satisfactory explanation.

We shall not deal with the year of the crucifixion, nor with the length of the ministry, which are obviously derived from Luke, but only with the days for the baptism, death and birth. The view taken is that Tybi 11th was brought over from the church, and not borrowed directly from the Epiphany of Dionysus, as has been commonly supposed. Tybi 15th is connected with the full moon. Of the days for the death, Phamenoth 25th is the equinox. It may be derived from an Egyptian festival, from Quartodeciman practice, or from independent calculation. Pharmuthi 25th was the day of the rising of the Pleiades and of the commencement of the harvest in Egypt. There may have been already on this day an agricultural feast of first-fruits like Passover. Pharmuthi 19th is not a date of the passion at all, but of the commencement of the six day period of ritual preparation. The days assigned to the birth belong properly to the conception. The difference of one day may be due to a double dating, or to diversity of local practice.

If these conclusions be correct, the Basilidian dates are all wrong, and this study will have merely a negative value for the chronology of the New Testament. The discussion of the true source of the dates bears nevertheless on New Testament interpretation. If, as we contend, the Basilidians derived Epiphany directly from the church, the feast will have existed in orthodox circles as early as the writing of the Fourth Gospel, and the account of the miracle at Cana may then well have been written to parallel the wonder of Dionysus on the same day. The dates of the death are perhaps derived from Quartodecimanism, and thus show the wide influence of Johannine chronology. The dating of the conception is an illustration of the tendency to continually push back the point at which Jesus was "declared to be the Son of God with power."

[12] Mommsen gives a number of illustrative citations, *op. cit.*

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS RELATIVE TO BASILIDES AND HIS SECT

Before taking up the gospel chronology of Basilides it will be well to know when and where he lived, what gospel or gospels he used, what view he held of those events in the life of Christ which he dated, what chronological system he employed, and wherein he may have differed from his followers.

§ 1. SOURCES.

What are our sources for the answer to these questions? We have direct quotations from Basilides in the *Stromata* of Clement of Alexandria,[13] and in the Acts of Archelaus and Mani.[14] Unfortunately in the longer citation of the Acts, Basilides is himself quoting others, and his own view is not clear. The secondary accounts fall into two groups. In the first we have Irenaeus,[15] and the lost compendium of Hippolytus, which may be reconstructed from Epiphanius,[16] Philaster,[17] Pseudo-Tertullian,[18] and Theodoret;[19] the later *Refutation* of Hippolytus comprises the second.[20] According to the first group the system of Basilides was dualistic and emanational; according to the second pantheistic and evolutionary. The quotations from Basilides himself must be the touch-stone. In the citation of the Acts of Archelaus, he discusses dualism, but what he thinks of it is not

[13] *Stromata* I, xxi, 145,1—146,4, ed. Stählin, p. 90; II, viii, 38, 1; III, i, 1; IV, xi, 81—88, § xii; V, vi, 37, 4; V, xi, 74, 3; VI, vi, 53, 2; VII, xvii, 106, 3—4. *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 16.

[14] *Acta Archelai*, ed. Charles Henry Beeson, LXVII = 55.

[15] *Irenaeus*, Text, W. W. Harvey, Lib. I, xviii, Gr. I, xxii, Mass. I, xxiv, 1, cap. XIX—XXI Haer.

[16] *Epiphanius*, Text, Karl Holl, Panarion Haer. 23, 1—2 = 62 A—B 24, 1 and 4—5 = 68 C and 69 A; 24, 3, 1—5 = 70 D—71 A; 24, 7 = 73 A—C, 26, 2, 2 = 83 C.

[17] *Filastrii Diversarum Hereseon Liber XXXII—XXXIII*, ed. Fredericus Marx.

[18] Pseudo-Tertullian, *De Praescriptionibus Haeret.*, 46, ed. E. F. Leopold.

[19] Theodoret, *Haeretic. Fabularum*, Lib. 1, 2. From *Thomasii Institutiones Theologicae Antiquorum Patrum, Pars Quarta.*

[20] Hippolytus *Refutation*, V, 8, 4; VII, 22, 2—4, 25, 5—7, 26, 6—9, 27, 5 and 8—13, 28, 1, text Wendland.

clear. There has been a good deal of debate as to whether the quotations in Clement agree best with Irenaeus or the later Hippolytus. Opinion generally favored Hippolytus when the *Refutation* was first discovered. The reasons are summed up by Jacobi.[21] But Hilgenfeld[22] and Lipsius[23] took the opposite position. They were answered by Hort,[24] in detail by Drummond,[25] and again by Peake,[26] to whom the reader is referred.

They point out the many particulars in which Hippolytus agrees with the quotations from the *Exegetica* of Basilides in Clement. It is further shown that in one place Irenaeus contradicts Clement. According to the twenty third book of the *Exegetica*[27] pre-natal guilt explains the suffering of Jesus. But the Basilides of Irenaeus did not admit that Jesus suffered at all. Rather he was changed into the form of Simon, who was crucified in his place.[28] There is but one point where the discussion need be elaborated. Clement says that according to this school labor and fear overcome deeds as rust iron.[29] Hilgenfeld thinks that this fits in only with a dualistic system.[30] On the contrary such an explanation of evil is highly characteristic of pantheism.[31] In order to save the goodness of the all embracing God evil is reduced to a mere blemish, and the responsibility of God is guarded by the very slightest limitation of his power, in that the rust appears of itself.

We may conclude, then, that the quotation in Clement and the *Refutation* of Hippolytus constitute our most reliable source for the system of Basilides himself. The Irenaeus group may, however, be used for the views of the school, as well as for the

[21] *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte*, I, 1877, p. 481.
[22] *Zeitschrift f. wissensch. Theol.*, XXI, 1878, p. 228, *Ketzergesch.*, p. 195.
[23] *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius.*
[24] *DCB.*, article *Basilides.*
[25] *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 304 ff.
[26] *Enc. of Rel. and Ethics*, article *Basilides.*
[27] Cl. Alex., *Str.* IV, 81—88.
[28] Iren. *Haer.* 1, 19, 2, Epi. 24, 3, 70D ff. Ps. Tert. 46 Phil. 32.
[29] *Str.*, IV, 88, 5.
[30] *Ketzergesch.*, p. 225.
[31] Cf. *Hermes Trismegistus*, 14, 7.

details of the life and activity of the founder. In addition we have scattering notices in Eusebius,[32] who depends on Irenaeus and Agrippa Castor, in Origen[33] and in Jerome.[34]

§ 2. DATE AND PLACE.

All of the evidence on the date of Basilides agrees with the statement in the Armenian *Chronicle* of Eusebius that he appeared in the 17th year of Hadrian (133 A. D.).[35]

According to Epiphanius, Basilides was a fellow-student of Saturnilos and Menander in Syrian Antioch, and came thence to Egypt.[36] A number of places are mentioned in Egypt where he was supposed to have worked, but these are doubtless simply the localities in which Epiphanius found his followers.[37] There can be no doubt that he was in Alexandria.[38] But was he ever in Syria? Jacobi[39] and Hort[40] think it highly improbable. Epiphanius inferred too much from his sources. He had at his disposal first of all Irenaeus according to whom "Saturninus, who was from Antioch that is near Daphne, and Basilides, taking their rise from these (i. e. Menander and Simon [*ex iis—occasiones accipientes*, ἀφορμὰς λαβόντες]) showed different doctrines, the one in Syria, the other in Alexandria."[41] Jacobi feels that the expression "*occasiones accipientes*" indicates nothing more

[32] *H. E.*, IV, 7—8.

[33] Collected by Dr. Hans Windisch, *Das Evangelium des Bas.*, *Zeitschr. f. die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1906, Heft 3.

[34] *De Viris Ill.*, XXI; on Amos 3 9.

[35] *Die Griech. Christ. Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhund.*, vol. 5, p. 220. Cf. Jerome's commentary *ad locum* and *De Viris Ill.*, XXI, Theodoret, *Fab. Haer.*, 1, 2 depends on Eusebius. The remaining evidence is found in Euseb. *H. E.*, IV, 7, Cl. Alex., *Str.*, VII, 17, 106, 3—4. Justin *Dial. Trypho*, 35, cf. Ap. 1, 26. On the whole subject see Harnack, *Chronologie*, vol. 1, p. 290. Hort, *DCB.*, art. *Basilides*.

[36] *Haer.*, 23, 62 B; 24, 68 D, 69 A, cf. Philaster, *Haer.*, 32.

[37] *Haer.*, 68 C.

[38] Iren. 1, 28, Euseb; *H. E.*, IV, 7, Theod. *Fab. Haer.*, 1, 2. Clem. Alex. has the most extensive quotations from his works.

[39] *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, 1, 1877, p. 490 ff. *Das Ursprüngliche Bas. System.*

[40] *DCB.*, art. *Basilides*.

[41] *Haer.*, 1, 18.

than that Basilides was influenced by the system of Menander, not that he had any personal contact with him in Syria. He cites as a parallel the case of Cerdon, who "taking his rise (*occasionem accipiens*) from the Simonians, when he had come to Rome etc."[42] This does not mean that Cerdon had any personal connection with Simon, but simply that their systems were similar. It is to be noticed, however, that Irenaeus does not say Simon, but the Simonians, with whom Cerdon might well have had relations. The implication is that he had been with them in the same geographical locality. So in the other case, although there is not a direct statement that Basilides was in Syria, the language is nevertheless sufficient to warrant the inference made by Epiphanius. The rest of our sources throw little light on the subject.[43]

The internal evidence is not so conclusive. Professor Bacon suggests that Basilides' use of Semitic names supports the tradition that he came from Antioch.[44] Caulacau was the name in which Christ ascended and descended.[45] The origin of the term is revealed by Hippolytus, who says that the Naasenes employed the words caulacau, saulasau and zeesar,[46] which Epiphanius identified with the Hebrew of Isaiah 28 13.[47] The man who first used the word must have known Hebrew because none of the versions transliterates,[48] but it is not clear that Basilides was the man. All of our authorities belong to the Irenaeus group, and connect the word with an ascent and descent of Christ which sound perilously like an emanation, in which Basilides did not believe.[49] Further the word was employed by the Naasenes[50]

[42] *Ibid.* 1, 24.

[43] Ps. Tert. *De Praes. Haer.* 46. Hippolytus, *Ref. Haer.*, VII, 27, 13 and 28, 1. Euseb., *H. E.*, IV, 7, *Acts of Archelaus and Mani*, c. 55. Their statement that Basilides preached in Persia is not to be taken seriously.

[44] *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, p. 52, note 3.

[45] Iren. *Haer.*, 1, 19, cf. Theod. *Haer. Fab.*, 1, 4.

[46] *Ref.* V, 8, 4.

[47] *Haer.*, 25, 78 D ff.

[48] Field, *Origen. Hexapla, ad locum.*

[49] Hipp., *Ref.*, VII, 25, 5—7.

[50] Hipp., *Ref.*, V, 8, 4.

and Nicolaitans,[51] though Basilides is probably anterior to both.[52]

The term Abraxas may be neither Semitic nor Basilidian. All guesses as to its derivation have been fruitless.[53] Among the Christian Gnostics it is peculiar to the Basilidians, but occurs in the magical papyri,[54] and on gems which may be neither Basilidian nor Gnostic.[55] In any case it is doubtful whether Basilides employed the word at all, if Irenaeus and his group are correct that the numerical value of its letters was applied to a series of emanations.[56] Hippolytus attributes it to his followers.[57]

There need be no doubt that Basilides called his prophets Barcabbas and Barcoph,[58] but so did the "Gnostics" of Epiphanius.[59] Basilides is probably prior to both,[60] but still he need not have originated the terms.

A weightier consideration is that Basilides used only the gospel of Luke, which according to tradition originated in Antioch.[61]

[51] Epiphanius, *Haer.*, 25, 78D ff. Hippolytus in his earlier work. *Phil. Haer.*, 33.

[52] On the Nicolaitans see Salmond, *DCB.*, art. *Caulacau.* Hilgenfeld points out that they made free use of the Fourth Gospel of which the earlier Gnostic was ignorant. *Ketzergeschichte*, p. 262. Irenaeus connects the Nicolaitans with the sect of Rev. 2 6, and the Nicolaus of Acts 6 5, but Justin, on whom he depends, leaves no place for such a companion of Simon and Menander. Hippolytus, in his earlier work, derives the Nicolaitans from Nicolaus, to be sure, but introduces the discussion of the sect after Basilides. Preserved in Ps. Tert. 46, Phil. 33, Epi. 25.

[53] Hort, *DCB.*, art. *Basilides.* He cites Movers, *Phoen.*, 1, p. 229. Barzilai, *Gli Abraxas.*

[54] Dieterich, *Abraxas*, pp. 17 and 46, *Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, Griffith and Thompson I, 302, II, 154.

[55] Matter, *Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme*, vol. 1, p. 418. C. W. King, *The Gnostics and Their Remains*, p. 245 f.

[56] Iren., *Haer.*, 1, 19, 4. Ps. Tert., 46, Theod., *Fab. Haer.*, 1, 4, Augustine, *Haer.*, 4.

[57] *Ref.*, VII, 26, 6.

[58] Euseb., *H. E.*, IV, 7, 7. Barcoph is doubtless the Parchor of Isidore. Cl. Alex., *Str.*, VI, 53, 2.

[59] *Haer.*, 26, 83C.

[60] Epiphanius enumerates Basilides earlier. *Haer.* 24 see *DCB.*, art. *Basilides.*

[61] See the next section.

We may conclude, chiefly on the basis of the external evidence, that Basilides came from Syria.

§ 3. THE GOSPEL OF BASILIDES.

We must know what gospels the Basilidians employed if we are to determine their view of those events in the life of Christ which they dated. Wherever possible we shall distinguish between the usage of the founder and the sect.

It is quite plain from two passages of Hippolytus that the school used the Fourth Gospel.[62] But the case is not so clear with regard to the master. The quotations are both introduced by φησί, but nothing can be inferred from the singular of the verb, because as Drummond himself admits, Hippolytus uses this form to describe the opinions of the whole sect of the Naasenes.[63]

In the first case the immediate antecedent is the plural οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι[64]: in the second, two pages of φησί follow after κατ' αὐτούς.[65] The inference is that we are dealing with the views of the school. There is further a very positive indication that Basilides himself did not know the Fourth Gospel. Clement of Alexandria[66] quotes from the twenty third book of the *Exegetica* of Basilides, where the author is discussing the problem of the cross. How could Jesus' suffering be reconciled with his sinlessness?[67] The problem is solved by the assumption of pre-natal guilt. Such a solution is scarcely thinkable if he accepted John 9 3, "Neither this man sinned nor his parents."[68]

The case is similar for the use of Matthew. Hippolytus again shows that it was employed by the school.[69] Clement of Alexandria says that when the followers of Basilides are asked about marriage they refer to Matthew 19 11 ff., which is, of course,

[62] *Ref.*, VII, 22, 4, Jn 1 9, VII, 27, 5, Jn 2 4.
[63] *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 297.
[64] *Ref.*, VII, 22, 3.
[65] VII, 26, 6.
[66] *Str.*, IV, 81—88.
[67] *Ibid.*, IV, 83.
[68] Cf. Bacon, *Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, p. 54.
[69] *Ref.*, VII, 27, 5, Mt. 2 1-2.

peculiar to that gospel.[70] The quotation is probably taken from the *Ethica* of Isidore cited in the next section.[71] At any rate the followers and not the founder are responsible for the opinion.

The case is different when it comes to Luke. Origen says that Basilides dared to write a gospel according to himself.[72] Eusebius learned from the refutation of Agrippa Castor that Basilides wrote twenty four books "on the gospel."[73] Clement of Alexandria says that they were called *Exegetica*, and quotes from the twenty third book.[74] The *Acts of Archelaus and Mani* give a part of the thirteenth.[75] What was this gospel according to Basilides? Windisch[76] has demonstrated that it was nothing more nor less than a recension of our Luke.

Take the quotation from the twenty-third book in Clement.[77] We have already seen that it cannot refer to John 9. Windisch shows that there is only one place in the gospels where the suffering and sinlessness of Jesus are brought into direct contrast, and that is in the rebuke of the penitent to the railing thief, which is peculiar to Luke (23 20). It is worthy of note that the twenty-third book of the commentary would treat of the twenty-third chapter of the gospel. The chronological section given above rests on Luke 3 1 and 4 19. The quotation in the *Acts of Archelaus and Mani* deals with a parable of a poor man and a rich man, which can scarcely be anything other than Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16 19–31). It will be noticed that in this case the thirteenth book corresponds to the sixteenth chapter. Basilides may have removed a good deal of the earlier part of Luke. Windisch goes on to quote a number of passages from Origen referring to those heretics who used Luke. Basilides is sometimes included. We come then to the conclusion that the founder used Luke's gospel alone. As we have already observed, this is an additional reason for believing that he came from Antioch.

[70] *Str.*, III, 1, 1.
[71] *Ibid.*, III, 2.
[72] *Origen*, V, p. 86, ed. Lommatzsch, cited by Windisch. See note 76.
[73] *H. E.*, IV, 7.
[74] *Str.*, IV, 81—88.
[75] c. 55.
[76] *Zeitschrift f. d. N. T. Wiss.*, 1906, Heft 3, *Das Evangelium des Bas.*
[77] *Str.*, IV, 81—88.

But how much of Luke did he have? Origen's charge that he wrote a gospel according to himself can be understood only if he mutilated Luke as Marcion did. We have found an employment of Luke 3 1; 4 19; 16 19–31; and 23 40, with an indication that there were excisions before the sixteenth chapter. What was removed, and in particular did Basilides, like Marcion,[78] begin with 3 1 cutting off the birth stories? Hippolytus introduces with his usual φησί the quotation of Luke 1 35,[79] but there is no assurance that this refers to Basilides himself. There are indications, however, in the *Homilies* of Origen that Basilides did not cut off the earlier part of the gospel.[80] In the sixteenth homily[81] he reminds those heretics who rejected the Old Testament that they had allowed Luke 2 34 to remain in their gospel. Who are these heretics? Again in the twentieth homily[82] he appeals to Luke 2 49 to show that the boy Jesus was concerned to do the work of the god of the Old Testament. "Let the Valentinians blush as they hear Jesus speaking etc. Let all the heretics blush who accept the gospel of Luke." It is distinctly stated that the Valentinians accepted this passage. We know that the Marcionites did not. Who are the others who did? In a fragment preserved in *Macarius Chrysocephalus* Origen says that the passage on the use of the ten commandments[83] was written for the benefit of the Valentinians, Basilidians and Marcionites, who have this in their gospel.[84] These are evidently for him the three great sects who accepted Luke, for that is what "their gospel" obviously means. May we not conclude, then, that in the above case the Basilidians are the others who had Luke 2 49 in "their gospel," which would of course be "the Gospel according to Basilides"? It will not be unlikely that he was also among those who retained Luke 2 34, and in this case

[78] Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, IV, 7.

[79] *Ref.*, VII, 26, 9.

[80] All of the references to the *Homilies* are taken without verification from the article of Windisch. He does not discuss the question of whether Basilides kept the first three chapters of Luke.

[81] ed. Lomm. V, p. 142.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

[83] Lk. 10 25–28.

[84] *Lomm.*, V, 240.

Hippolytus may be reporting the founder as well as his followers when he attributes to them the use of Luke 1 35.

§ 4. CHRISTOLOGY.

We come now to the Christology of Basilides and his followers in so far as it affects their view of those events in the life of Jesus to which they assigned dates. There are three; the baptism, the birth and the death. We shall include the conception for reasons which will subsequently appear.

The most outstanding was the baptism. The event must have had great significance for them, because Clement says that the night before the commemoration was spent in readings. If one knew nothing of the adoptionist character of this festival in the Christian church, he could scarcely be in doubt as to its meaning, when he compared the views of Cerinthus, according to whom Jesus was a man like all others, until at the baptism Christ came into him in the form of a dove.[85] The baptism was his birth as the Son of God. There is evidence to show that the Basilidians took the same view. Clement says, "the dove was seen as a body, which some call the Holy Spirit, but the Basilidians the minister.[86] Again Clement accuses the Basilidians of making ignorance the source of salvation. "Was this ignorance of good things? If so the *minister* and the preaching and the *baptism* are rendered superfluous to them."[87] It would seem that the dove is the minister by which Christ enters Jesus at his baptism, so that at this time he is really born as God.

But although this was the opinion of the Basilidians it was not that of their master. If he had been an adoptionist, we should have expected his gospel to begin like Marcion's with Luke 3 1, but we have seen that he included parts of chapter two. Further a descent of Christ would have been something very akin to an emanation, but Basilides said that there were none.[88] He declared also that "the gospel came to the world and went through every rule and power and lordship and every

[85] Iren. *Haer.*, 1, 21, 1.
[86] *Excerpta ex. ser. Theodoti*, § 16.
[87] *Str.*, II, 8, 38, 1.
[88] Hipp., *Ref.*, VII, 22, 2.

name that is named. It came truly, although nothing came down from above etc., but as naphtha attracts fire from a distance' so that which was below was kindled without an actual descent.[89] He would not admit a coming down of Christ into Jesus. Rather a light came down, or better shone down and illuminated him.[90] This is the typical light which appeared at the baptism,[91] but for Basilides it came not then, but rather at the conception for this is what is meant by "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee" and "the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee."[92] Basilides has gone a step beyond the Synoptics in his approach to the prologue of the Fourth Gospel. For Mark, Jesus becomes God at his baptism[93], when the Spirit enters εἰς αὐτόν. For Matthew and Luke the magi and the angels hail the birth as the point at which God becomes man. Basilides goes back to the conception, if not further, when he says that Jesus was "pre-thought at the time of the generation of the stars."[94] It remained for the Johannine author to assert that "in the beginning was the word." The Basilidians, however, found the theory of illumination without emanation a little too abstruse and reverted to the earlier adoptionism. We notice that neither the founder nor the sect made anything of the birth. Yet Clement says that they dated it. We shall have occasion to explain that statement later on.

We turn now to the death. Some of the Basilidians were Docetists. According to them Jesus was not crucified, but was changed into the form of Simon, who suffered in his place. It was, therefore, perfectly right to escape martyrdom by denial because he who confessed the crucified placed his faith in Simon. It is hard to see how those who took such a position could have had any interest in the cross at all. We must conclude that the day of the death was commemorated only by those who agreed with their founder that Jesus really suffered, and indeed as

[89] *Ibid.*, VII, 25, 5—7.
[90] *Ibid.*, VII, 26, 7—8.
[91] Huck, *Synopse der Drei Ersten Evangelien, ad* Lk. 3 22.
[92] Lk. 1 35, Hipp., *Ref.*, VII, 26, 9.
[93] Mk. 1 10.
[94] Hipp., *Ref.*, VII, 27, 5.

punishment for his pre-natal guilt. His death, they held, separated his nature into its constituent elements. The physical part returned to formlessness; the psychical reverted to the Hebdomad, and that which corresponded to the boundary spirit remained with it, so that "Jesus became the first fruits of the sorting out. His passion took place for no other reason than for the separating of that which had been mixed up."[95]

§ 5. CHRONOLOGY.

What chronological system was employed by the Basilidians? Epiphanius says that they called the chief power Abraxas, the sum of whose letters equals 365, corresponding to the number of days in the year and the number of parts in the body. "They are wrong," says Epiphanius. "There are 365 1/4."[96] It would seem that he used the Augustan calendar, whereas they employed the old movable Egyptian year, without intercalation in leap-year. Such might be the case if the word had been constructed because of its numerical value, but the coincidence was probably observed after the word existed, as in the case of Νεῖλος[97] and Μείθρας,[98] which give exactly the same sum. Furthermore the equation had already been made in the magical papyri,[99] from which the Basilidians could have borrowed it without taking over the chronological system on which it may have been based. But in any case allegory does not need to be too precise. Clement of Alexandria finds the "acceptable year" in the 360 *tintinnabuli* of the high priest's garments.[100] One need not conclude with Hozakowski[101] that he was referring to the old Egyptian year which had but 360 days if one exclude the 5 *epagomenai*.

But we have more direct evidence that all of the Basilidians employed the Augustan year. Some celebrated the baptism on

95 Hipp., *Ref.*, VII, 27, 8—12.
96 *Haer.*, 1, 24, 7. 73 A ff.
97 Heliodorus, *Aeth.*, IX, 22.
98 Jerome on *Amos*, 3 9.
99 Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 182, l. 26 σὺ εἶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ Ἀβρασάξ.
100 *Str.*, V, 6, 37, 4.
101 *De Chron. Clem. Al.*

Tybi 11th. We shall see that the feast was derived from the Epiphany of Dionysus on January 6th. There is a correspondence in date, however, only if the Alexandrian calendar was used. Tybi 11th would be January 6th on the movable basis only in the years 24 to 21 B. C. On the Augustan basis there would be an exact correspondence except in the intercalary year, when Tybi 11th would be January 7th. We hope to show that another group of Basilidians assigned the conception to the 28th year of Augustus. They would not be likely to accept the era without the calendar, so we may assume that the Augustan system has been employed throughout.

The months of that year are equated below with those of the Julian calendar.[102] Following will be found the Julian equivalents of the Basilidian dates.[103]

Alexandrian Month	Julian Day	Julian Month	Alexandrian Day
1 Thoth	29 August	1 September	4 Thoth
1 Phaophi	28 September	1 October	4 Phaophi
1 Athyr	28 October	1 November	5 Athyr
1 Choiak	27 November	1 December	5 Choiak
1 Tybi	27 December	1 January	6 Tybi
1 Mechir	26 January	1 February	7 Mechir
1 Phamenoth	25 February	1 March	5 Phamenoth
1 Pharmuthi	27 March	1 April	6 Pharmuthi
1 Pachon	26 April	1 May	6 Pachon
1 Payni	26 May	1 June	7 Payni
1 Epiphi	25 June	1 July	7 Epiphi
1 Mesori	25 July	1 August	8 Mesori
1 Epagomenai	24 August		

Birth in the twenty eighth year of Augustus.

Pachon 25 = May 20, Schram's Tables number 1720832
Pharmuthi 24 = April 19, number 1732124
Pharmuthi 25 = April 20, number 1732125

[102] Ginzel, *Math. u. Techn. Chronologie*, 1, p. 225.
[103] R. Schram, *Kalendariograph. u. Chronologische Tafeln.*

Baptism in the fifteenth year of Tiberius.
Tybi 15 = January 10, number 1731660
Tybi 11 = January 6, number 1731656

Passion in the sixteenth year of Tiberius.
Phamenoth 25 = March 21, number 1732095
Pharmuthi 25 = April 20, number 1732125
Pharmuthi 19 = April 14, number 1732119

BAPTISM

Some of the Basilidians celebrated the baptism as the birth in an adoptionist sense on Tybi 11th = January 6th, which is obviously the date of Epiphany.[104] The common opinion is that the Basilidians borrowed from a heathen festival of the birth of Dionysus,[105] and that the church in turn borrowed from the Gnostics in the early fourth century when the controversy was not so bitter. The feast must have been introduced later than 311 A. D. in the West,[106] and earlier than 325 A. D. in the East.[107]

[104] For a full discussion of the feast see: A. Meyer, *Das Weihnachtsfest*, pp. 7—29. Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest*, in *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 1—2, pp. 187—213. Lagarde, *Mitteilungen*, 3. 4. *Altes und Neues über das Weihnachtsfest*, p. 241 ff. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, pp. 275 and 293. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, pp. 257—265. Rohde, *Psyche*, 295 ff. Articles on Epiphany in *Catholic Enc.*, V, p. 504, Cyril Martindale, *Enc. of Rel. and Ethics*, K. Lake, *HRE.*, 3, vol. V, p. 414, Caspari, *Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church*, vol. II, p. 1141 ff.

[105] Epiphanius, *Haer.*, II, 51, 22, ed. Dindorf, p. 482. Usener assumed that Epiphanius was describing a Gnostic rite because of the mention of crosses (*op. c.*, p. 28) but the cross was not peculiar to the Christians, Socrates, *H. E.*, V, 17, Migne, *P. G.*, 67, p. 608, cf. Sozomen 7, 15, Ruf., *H. E.*, II, 29. The Dusares, who is born in Petra, is the Arabian equivalent of the Greek Dionysus. A. Meyer, *op. c.*, p. 19, note 27. Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnaliorum*, Lib. I, cap. XVIII, ed. Ludovicus Janus, p. 171, § 8. On Dionysus and Kore see Nilsson, *op. c.*, pp. 279 and 289.

[106] Because it was not observed by the Donatists, who rejected none of the rites of the church. *S. Augustini Episcopi Sermo CCII in Epiphania Domini IV*, Migne, *P. L.*, 38, p. 1033.

[107] The Catholic Gregory of Nazianza makes nothing of the attendance in 372 A. D. of the Arian emperor Valens, at the celebration of the festival by the Catholic Basil of Caesarea. If the feast were not common to the rival camps this would have been a great concession and one of which Gregory could scarcely have failed to take advantage. The festival must,

But such a procedure is very unlikely. The controversy with the Gnostics never ceased to be bitter.[108] Further, the Basilidian practice is too frail a link to connect the temple and the church, whose festivals have much more in common than the baptism and the birth. Among the heathen January 6th was the epiphany or manifestation of the glory of the god Dionysus. On that day he was born as the aeon by Kore, the virgin.[109] The event was celebrated by carrying torches.[110] On that day he turned water into wine,[111] which led to a rite of the storing of waters.[112] In the church we have similarly a veritable epiphany or manifestation of the glory of Jesus. To January 6th was assigned most commonly the baptism;[113] sometimes the baptism and the birth,[114] sometimes the birth without mention of the baptism because of the adoptionist nature of the feast;[115]

therefore, antedate the Council of Nicaea (325 A. D.). *S. Gregorii Theologi Oratio XLIII. In Laudem Basilii Magni*, § 52. Migne, *P. G.*, 36, p. 561. See Usener, *op. c.*, p. 192.

108 Eusebius, *V. C.*, III, 64—65.

109 Epiphanius, *Haer.*, II, 51, 22, ed. Dindorf, p. 482.

110 *Ibid.*

111 *Diodori Siculi*, Lib. III, Cap. LXVI, § 1—2. *Pausanias*, 6, 26, § 1—2, ed. Carolus Godofredus Siebelis. *C. Plinii Secundii N. H.*, II, 106, ed. Gabriel Brotier, cf. XXXI, 13. For further evidence and a discussion of the chronology, see A. Meyer, *op. c.*, pp. 15—16, and the notes.

112 Epiphanius, *Haer.*, II, 51, § 30, Dindorf, *Aristides Rhaetor*, Oxford, 1730, II, 573 (p. 341) and 612 (p. 361), cited by K. Lake in the *Enc. of Rel. and Ethics*, cf. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 36.

113 Jerome on *Ezech.*, 1 s, Migne, *P. L.*, XXV, p. 18.

114 *Joannis Cassiani Collationes*, X, 2, P. L., XLIX, 820. Date 418—427 A. D.

115 So in a papyrus published by G. Bickell in *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, 1887, Bd. 2, 83—86, cited by Usener, *op. c.*, p. 189, note 1. So also in the *Peregrinatio Silviae*. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Corpus Scriptorum Eccl. Lat.*, 39, pp. 37—101. G. Krüger in *H. R. E.*, 3, 18, p. 345 ff. gives 394 A. D. as the latest possible date of the document. The first leaf is missing, but we can tell that Epiphany is the subject because the next feast is its quadragesima. The account of the visit to the cave at Bethlehem is also lost, but the story is resumed with a return to Jerusalem. We may infer that the procession came from Bethlehem, because we are told that a journey was made there every day (p. 77, l. 9) and that the rites preceding Epiphany were similar to those leading up to Easter, which began with a visit to the cave at Bethlehem (p. 93, § 42).

in one case the conception was added.[116] Soon the day served to commemorate also the adoration of the shepherds[117] and the Magi, and the appearance of the star,[118] the miracle at Cana,[119] and the feeding of the five thousand.[120] We find the storing of waters,[121] and a feast of lights.[122] The church and the temple have in common the turning of water into wine, the storing of waters and the feast of lights, in addition to the Basilidian baptism and birth. Further it is easier to account for the diverse events attached to the Christian Epiphany if the starting point was not merely the commemoration of an adoptionist baptism, but the manifestation of the whole glory of the god. It is much simpler to suppose that the church borrowed directly from the heathen.[123] The Basilidian rite was so meagre either because the split antedated the complete development of the orthodox festival, or because only selected elements were retained.

But apart from these probabilities we have direct evidence that Epiphany is earlier than the Gnostic separation. Mgr. Duchesne[124] points out that according to Sozomen[125] the Montanists celebrated Easter on April 6th, exactly nine months before January 6th. We shall have occasion to see later on

[116] The Armenians commemorate the baptism, birth and conception on the same day. Usener, *op. c.*, p. 208.

[117] Ephraem Syrus († 373 A. D. G. Bickell, *Ephr. Syri Carmina Nisibena*, Lips., 1866, p. 9, note 1). Usener, *op. c.*, 195—198, cites the editions of Lamy and Benedictus, neither of which is accessible to me.

[118] Ephraem Syrus and Epiphanius, who is dependent upon him. *Haer.*, II, 51. It is worthy of note that Epiphanius put the baptism back sixty days from Jan. 6th to Nov. 8th, probably to avoid an adoptionist interpretation, see §§ 16, 22, 24 and 27.

[119] Ephraem Syrus and Epiphanius, *loc. c.*

[120] *S. Augustini Sermo CXXXVI*, Migne, *P. L.*, 39, p. 2013, *in Epiphania Domini*, VI, *Missale Gothicum in Vigiliis Epiphaniae.* Neale and Forbes, *Gallican Liturgies*, p. 49ff.

[121] See note [112].

[122] *Peregrinatio Silviae, S. Gregorii Theologi Oratio XXXIX in Sancta Lumina*, Migne, *P. G.*, 36, p. 336.

[123] For a curious mixture of Christian and heathen elements see Julius Africanus, *ANF.*, VI, p. 128ff. Migne, *P. G.*, 10, p. 98ff.

[124] *Christian Worship*, p. 264.

[125] Sozomen, VII, 18.

that it was almost universal to assign the conception and the death to the same day. April 6th will have been the day of the conception then as well as of the passion. Duchesne thinks that this was the fixed date and that January 6th was derived from it. He holds in fact that Epiphany arose in just this way. But after all that we have seen about the epiphany of Dionysus it must be obvious that January 6th, on the contrary, is the fixed date and April 6th almost certainly the derived. There is nothing whatever in pagan or in Christian practice to account for the choice of April 6th, unless it be derived from January 6th, and in that case the Montanists must have regarded January 6th as the day of the birth, whether they celebrated it or not. We are led then to the very interesting conclusion that Epiphany was common to two rival heresies, the Gnostics and the Montanists, neither of which is likely to have borrowed from the other. The day must, therefore, go back to the common stream of tradition before the Gnostic split. Epiphany, as a feast of the church, is thus thrown back to the beginning of the second century.

The conclusion is further strengthened by the usage of the Marcionites. The following passage occurs in Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem*:[126]

> Anno XV Tiberii Christus Jesus de caelo manare dignatus est spiritus salutaris Marcionis, salutis qui ita voluit quoto quidem anno Antonini maioris de Ponto suo exhalaverit aula canicularis, non curavi investigare, de quo tamen constat, Antoninianus haereticus est sub Pio impius, a Tiberio autem usque ad Antoninum anni fere centum quindecem et dimidium anni cum dimidio mensis, tantumdem temporis ponunt inter Christum et Marcionem.

The passage is very difficult to construe. *Aura* is of course to be substituted for *aula*, but what of *salutis?* Bill enumerates the various conjectures,[127] *Marcionis salutem qui ita voluit,*[128]

[126] 1, 19, *Migne*, 2, p. 267. I am indebted to Professor Bacon for this reference.

[127] *Texte u. Unters.*, 38, p. 69.

[128] Ursinus, Harnack.

Marcionem saltem.[129] His own suggestion is "*salutis qui ita voluit (spiritum e caelo exhalatum esse, ipsum) quoto quidem anno, etc.*" The passage might then be translated:

> In the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Christ Jesus was deemed worthy to descend from heaven, the saving spirit of Marcion. I do not care to investigate in what year of Antoninus, the Elder, the wind of the dog-star blew him from Pontus, who thus wished the Spirit to be blown from heaven. From this, however, it appears that he was a heretic under Antoninus; under Pius, impious. From Tiberius, moreover, to Antoninus there are about 115 years and a half year and a half month. So much time they place between Christ and Marcion.

It is evident that we are dealing here not with the interval between Tiberius and Antoninus on any basis, but with a Marcionite calculation of the time between Christ and Marcion.[130] Both termini can be determined almost exactly because we have the year in one case and the month in the other. Christ descended in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, i. e. A. D. 29. Marcion was blown from Pontus by the wind of the dog-star, which rose about the end of July. If then we add 115 years to 29 A. D. we get the year 144 A. D. for Marcion. And if from the end of July, 144 A. D., we subtract 115 years, six months and a half, we are thrown back to the first week of January A. D. 29. Marcion, as an Adoptionist, will have reckoned the descent of Christ from the baptism, so this is the event which fell in the first week of January. What can that be but Epiphany on January 6th? The Marcionites as well as the Montanists recognized the day.

The inferences, however, with regard to the practice of the church are not the same in each case, because the Marcionites were not necessarily so independent of the Basilidians as the Montanists. Bill thinks that there was borrowing on the part of the Marcionites.[131] This is quite possible since Basilides appeared in 133 A. D., Marcion in 144 A. D. On the other hand the reverse is equally possible. Clement of Alexandria says that

[129] Lipsius.

[130] Harnack, *Chronologie*, I, pp. 297 ff., 306 f., and *Texte u. Untersuch.*, 45, *Marcion*, Beilage 1, p. 18. Bill, *op. cit.*

[131] *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

Marcion was an elder contemporary of Basilides and Valentinus and implies that he was their teacher.[132] If either be true, no deductions can be made as to the usage of the church from the independent practice of rival sects.

But the Marcionite calculation in itself leads us to the almost certain conclusion that the date was recognized equally by the church. A comparison is made between the saving work of Christ and Marcion.[133] What Christ taught the church has perverted, but Marcion has restored. His followers would bring the orthodox back to the teaching of the Master whom both revered by an appeal to a date which both recognized. "You, like us," they would say, "believe that on the 6th of January A. D. 29 Christ was baptized and the Spirit entered into him. We would teach you the true significance of that event." The Marcionites are reckoning the time of the restoration of the gospel from the date to which the church assigned its inception.

The third item of evidence is the most direct. We find an actual employment of January 6th for the birth of Jesus by an orthodox writer before the composition of the first book of the *Stromata* of Clement of Alexandria[134] (202—3 A. D.). This may be inferred from the fact that Clement here employs different chronological systems. In 140 7 he says that between the captivity under Vespasian and the death of Commodus on December 31st, 192 A. D. there are 121 years, six months and 24 days, but in 145 5 the sum given is 121 years, ten months and 13 days.[135] Again in 145 1 the birth of Christ is assigned to the 28th year of Augustus = 3/2 B. C., but 194 years, one

[132] *Strom.* VII, 17, 106 f., ed. Stählin, Band 3 p. 75, see Harnack, *Chronologie*, I, p. 298 ff.

[133] It matters little for our purposes whether the point of departure be Marcion's sailing from Pontus (Bill) or his breach with the Roman church (Harnack).

[134] Harnack, *Chronologie*, vol. 2, p. 11.

[135] Stählin, whose text I have given before in translation (p. 81), follows Usener in giving 122 years, but Usener's correction is designed to make Clement agree with history according to the Julian calendar. We must seek rather to justify Clement's arithmetic. 30 years plus 42 years and 3 months from 194 years, 1 month and 13 days, give 121 years, 10 months and 13 days.

month and 13 days before the death of Commodus, which according to the Julian calendar gives November 18th, 4/3 B. C.[136]

These discrepancies can be explained only if Clement employed sources based on different chronological systems. One will have been the Augustan, which differs from the Julian only in that it employs the Egyptian months. The other will have been the era of Nabonassar, which loses a day every four years so that the months go wandering through the year. It is, therefore, called the *annus vagus*. We shall expect to discover that the longer intervals were calculated according to the vague year and the shorter according to the fixed. This assumption may serve also to explain why Origen placed only 42 years between the passion and the destruction of Jerusalem, which he assigned rightly to Passover,[137] but wrongly to 71 A. D.,[138] whereas Clement made the interval 42 years and three months.

If the dates are worked out in this dual fashion there are some very surprising results.[139] The first discrepancy was between the sums given for the interval from the destruction of Jerusalem to the death of Commodus. The shorter is 121 years, six months and 24 days, which on the Julian basis gives June 6—7th, 71 A. D. for the destruction. If then the 42 years and 3 months to the passion be reckoned back on the movable basis, we arrive at March 18—19th, 29 A. D., a date to which the crucifixion was frequently assigned. The longer sum is 121 years, 10 months and 13 days. On the movable basis this will bring the destruction of Jerusalem to March 23rd, the equinox of 72 A. D. The year is wrong, but the day is significant, because Origen reckoned an even number of years between the destruction and the passion, which was commonly assigned to the equinox.

But the most surprising results are obtained for the birth, when we calculate the 194 years, 1 month and 13 days from

136 This date is accepted as that of Clement by Ginzel, III, p. 196, note 1, and by A. Meyer, *Das Weihnachtsfest*, p. 6, note 4.

137 Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, 2116.

138 *Hom. in Jer. XIV*, cf. *Cels.*, IV 22.

139 Most of them have been worked out by H. Browne in the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, Cambridge, 1—2, 1854—5, *S. Clemens Alex. on New Testament Chronology*, p. 327 ff.

the death of Commodus on the movable basis. I give the calculations in full according to Schram's tables, pp. 186—7:

Dec. 31st, 192 A. D. = 1791520 + 31 = 1791551
1791551—522 = 29 Mechir 940 Nab.

940	Mechir	29	
194	1 month	13	
746	Tybi	16	= 1720682
			16
			1720698
			692
			6 January 2 B. C.

In other words if we use the movable calendar, Clement agrees with himself as to the year of Christ's birth, and the day turns out to be the very Epiphany which we are considering.

That date once obtained there is still another coincidence. Clement forgets the "acceptable year" of the public ministry, and places thirty years between the birth and the death. This added to the 42 years and 3 months to the destruction of Jerusalem will give for the whole interval 72 years and 3 months. On the movable basis the city will then have been taken on March 19th, 71 A. D. Origen's interval of 42 years to the passion would give March 19, 29 A. D., only one day from the common date. These coincidences simply confirm our conclusion that Clement used a source which calculated according to the *annus vagus*.

The source will scarcely have been heretical. We may, therefore, conclude that an orthodox writer later than the death of Commodus (192 A. D.) and earlier than the first book of the *Stromata* of Clement (202—3 A. D.) assigned the birth of Jesus to January 6th. We thus discover that Epiphany was recognized not only by the Basilidians, Montanists, and Marcionites, but also somewhere in the church at the very height of the heretical controversies. Mutual borrowing is scarcely credible. One is, therefore, forced to the conclusion that Epiphany as a Christian festival antedates the schisms and hence goes back to the beginning of the second century. An interesting conclusion this! Our feast may well have antedated the Fourth Gospel, too,

which increases the probability of Professor Bacon's suggestion that the account of the turning of water into wine at Cana was deliberately written to parallel the miracle of Dionysus on the same day.[140]

TYBI 15TH = JANUARY 10TH

The number symbolism of the Gnostics may have had something to do with the choice of the 15th of Tybi. The Basilidians, to be sure, make nothing of the thirty aeons of the Valentinians,[141] based on the thirty years of Christ's life, of which according to Clement fifteen fell under Augustus and fifteen under Tiberius.[142] But the Basilidians did make the fifteenth year of Tiberius the starting point for their absolute chronology.[143] It is possible but not likely that the number played a symbolic part in their system.

A more satisfactory explanation is offered by a passage in *Pistis Sophia*, which Usener cites in this connection.[144] We discover a virtual epiphany of Jesus on Tybi 15th, regarded as the day of the full moon. The passage reads as follows:[145]

> It came to pass on the 15th of the month Tybi, which is the same day in which the moon is full, on that day then, while the sun was in his course, there went out after him a great power of light, shining exceedingly and beyond measure, for it went out from the light of lights and proceded from the last mystery which is the same as the twenty fourth mystery, from the inner to the inner which are in the order of the second rank of the first mystery. This light came down from Jesus and enveloped him entirely. He stood removed from his disciples and shone exceedingly, there being no measure to his light.—These things came to pass on the 15th of the moon, the day when it is full in Tybi. It came to pass when

140 *After Six Days*, Jan. 1915, *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, p. 94.
141 *Iren.* II, 22.
142 *Strom.* I, 145—6.
143 *Ibid.*
144 *Das Weihnachtsfest*, p. 20.
145 Translated from pages 4 and 5 of the Latin of M. G. Schwartz.

> Jesus ascended into heaven after the third hour, all the powers of heaven were disturbed and agitated among themselves, nor did all the powers in heaven and the whole world cease to be disturbed, and they were in commotion among themselves from the third hour of the 15th of the moon of Tybi until the ninth hour of the following day.

Usener inferred from this passage that there was originally a lunar year in Egypt. That is greatly debated and in any case unimportant for our purpose.[146] More to the point is the connection of religious festivals with the moon, which appears from the following papyrus and inscriptions:

> From a temple papyrus: from the 26th of the second harvest month to the 25th of the third—from the 20th of the second flood month to the 18th of the first winter month—from the 18th of the second winter month to the 17th of the third—[147]

These are intervals of twenty nine days and indicate that some of the temples reckoned according to the moon.

> Thutmose III (18th Dynasty): In the year 23, month Pachon, day 21, day of the new-moon feast. In the 24th year of the same king: "I command to erect the foundation stone on the day of the new-moon feast."[148]
>
> In the temple of Rameses III at Medinet-Habu: monthly heaven festivals, gifts every month on the 29th moon-day, on the entry of the thirtieth, on the day of the new moon, on the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 10th and 15th moondays.[149]

The Egyptians then celebrated religious festivals connected with the moon, some of which fell on the fifteenth of the month. The Gnostics assigned an epiphany of Jesus to Tybi 15th.

[146] See Ginzel, *Math. u. Techn. Chron.*, I, § 36.

[147] Cited by Ginzel, *op. cit.* I, 168 from Borchardt, *Der zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun* (*Zeitschr. f. aegypt. Spr.*, XXXVII, 1899, 93).

[148] Cited by Ginzel, p. 167, from Brugsch, *Thesaur. Inscr. Aegypt.* I, 45—53, II, 267—277, 280, 311, 476, *Aegyptologie* 350, 335.

[149] See the previous note.

DATES OF THE PASSION

All the Basilidian dates for the passion are incorrect. The crucifixion must have fallen on a Friday either the 14th or the 15th of Nisan within the limits of 28 to 33 A. D.[150] Fotheringham has worked out the following table for the Julian equivalents of the 14th of Nisan for the longer period of 26 to 35 A. D.[151]

A. D.	Date of Nisan 14th
26	Sa., Mar. 23
26	Su., Apr. 21
27	F., Apr. 11
28	Tu., Mar. 30
29	Sa., Mar. 19
29	M., Apr. 18
30	F., Apr. 7
31	Tu., Mar. 27
32	M., Apr. 14
33	F., Apr. 3
34	W., Mar. 24
35	Tu., Apr. 12

From this chart it becomes apparent that Luke's year and day are impossible.[152] The year 29 A. D. is out of the question on any basis. The 15th can have been a Friday only in 27 A. D. if according to Maimonides' rule the moon was visible on March 27th, and in 34 A. D. in case the moon was hidden by

150 Turner, *D. B.*, p. 410.

151 *The Journal of Theological Studies*, Oct., 1910 (Vol. XII, No. 45). Fotheringham proceeds on the assumption that the official Jewish year was still empirically determined in the time of Christ. The opposite view is defended by Turner, article *Chronology*, *D. B.*, and Ramsay, *Expositor*, Nov. 1899. The case for the empirical chronology is summed up and developed by Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, First Div. II, app. 3, *Jewish and Macedonian months*; Bacon, *Expositor*, July, 1900; and Fotheringham, *Society of Historical Theology*, 1901—1902, *Journal of Theology*, vol. XXIX and in the article cited above. This view seems to me sufficiently established to require no further discussion.

152 Cf. Bacon, *Lucan versus Johannine Chronology*, *Expositor*, March, 1907, § 5.

clouds on March 10th. The first is very unlikely. The second is possible, but the year is too late.

It is equally plain that all of the Basilidian dates are similarly impossible. Their explanation will throw light not so much upon the chronology of the life of Jesus, as upon the development of Christian festivals.

After what we have found out about Epiphany, it will not be unprofitable in seeking an explanation to look for a heathen background. Perhaps we shall find that the death and resurrection of Jesus have been substituted for those of the vegetation and solar deities. But we must bear in mind that the primary associations of the passion are with the Jewish Passover. It will not do to forget either its time or character. As to the first, it fell notoriously somewhere near the spring equinox, which, by the way, was also the day of the resurrection of many of the chthonic gods. As to character, it was a composite feast made up of a nomadic sacrifice of firstlings and an agricultural offering of first-fruits.[153] An account of the combined festival is found in Leviticus 23 5 ff:

> In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month at even, is Jehovah's passover. And on the fifteenth day of the same month is the feast of unleavened bread unto Jehovah: seven days ye shall eat unleavened bread.—And Jehovah spake unto Moses saying, Speak unto the children of Israel and say unto them, When ye are come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring the sheaf of the *first-fruits* of your harvest unto the priest: and he shall wave the sheaf before Jehovah, to be accepted for you: on the morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it. And in the day when you wave the sheaf ye shall offer a *he-lamb* without blemish a year old for a burnt-offering unto Jehovah.

The agricultural symbolism was not lost on Christian authors. For Paul and for Clement of Rome, Christ was "our first-fruits."[154]

[153] See Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, III § 1. 1 p. 87 ff. Cf. W. R. Smith *Prophets of Israel*, new ed., pp. 56 and 384.

[154] 1 Cor. 15 20, *Clement of Rome*, § 24.

Clement of Alexandria says that he rose on the third day, which is the first of the weeks of harvest, in which it is commanded that the priest should wave the sheaf.[155]

It need scarcely be said that Jewish and heathen influences are not mutually exclusive. We have just noted that Passover fell near the equinox, the date of the resurrection of many of the chthonic gods. We may find similarly that offerings of firstlings or first-fruits were made in other countries at about the same time as in Palestine.

PHAMENOTH 25TH = MARCH 21ST

Our first date, March 21st, is connected rather with the time than with the character of Passover. According to Fotheringham it is the true equinox for the period of Basilides.[156] This may occasion surprise to those who remember that J. Caesar chose March 25th. The fact is that there was no uniformity in antiquity with regard to the exact day, due partly to the precession of the equinoxes, partly to difficulties of observation. Among the Greeks, Eudoxos chose March 28th, Euktemon March 26th, Kalippus March 24th, Hipparchus March 23rd and 24th.[157] For Anatolius of Laodicea the date was March 19th.[158] The Apostolic Constitutions put it on March 22nd.[159] Theophilus of Alexandria chose March 21st.[160] Epiphanius seems to reckon the night of the 21st as equal to the day of the 22nd: "And having risen according to the Egyptians on the 26th of Phamenoth, which was the equal day of the past night and the equal night after the 25th, and the 22nd of March."[161] We discover

155 In the *Chronicon Paschale*, quoted in *Canonicity*, A. H. Charteris, p. 195.

156 *The Day of the Crucifixion*, *Journal of Philology*, XXIX.

157 Ginzel, *Math. und Techn. Chron.*, II, 423. On the Julian equinox, see p. 285.

158 Euseb., *H. E.*, VII, 32, 14.

159 *A. N. F.*, VII, p. 447.

160 D. Petavii, *De Doctrina Temporum*, Tom. II, p. 501, *Prologus Theophili*. See also *Cyril of Alex.*, Migne, *P. L.*, 54, p. 603: *Et finit sol cursum totius anni in xii kal. Aprilis.*

161 *Adversus Haereses*, II, 51, 27, Dindorf p. 493.

then that there was no absolute uniformity. In Alexandria March 21st was the accepted day. We are dealing then with the equinox.

Why did the Basilidians choose this day? Were they influenced by the Egyptian mysteries? That is unlikely. We find several dates given for the death and resurrection of Osiris, but none of them is in the spring. Plutarch assigns the mourning and rejoicing for the dying and rising god to Athyr 17th = November 13th.[162] The Dendera inscription places a similar festival on the 30th of Choiak = December 26th.[163] Frazer thinks that these feasts are identical, and accounts for the difference in date by the assumption that, with the introduction of the Augustan year, all festivals were moved back a month to put them in their original position relative to the seasons. But apart from the fact that there is no evidence for this change, the Philocalian calendar assigns the resurrection of Osiris by implication to November 1st. Mommsen suggests that this is because the festival was taken over when Athyr 17th of the movable year corresponded to November 1st, i. e. in the reign of Caligula 37, 38 or 39 A. D.[164] In that case the festivals of Athyr and Choiak cannot be identified. But their relation is beside the point for our purposes because neither comes in the spring. There is, therefore, nothing to account for the Basilidian date.

We do, however, find one or two events in the catalogue of the Egyptian mysteries assigned to the equinox. Plutarch says that it was the time of the child-bearing of Isis.[165] This does not serve as a very appropriate background for the death and resurrection. Lydus presents something more promising in his description of the rites of the 19th of March,[166] which we found to be the equinox for Anatolius. On that day, he says, the Nile

[162] *De Iside et Osiride*, 39. Cf. Herodotus II. 129—132. Lactantius, *Divin. Institut.* I, 21. A more extensive description and fuller references will be found in Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 240 ff.

[163] *Ibid.* pp. 259—60.

[164] *CIL*, 1, 2, p. 405.

[165] *De Is. et Os.*, 65.

[166] *De Mensibus*, 4, 40.

was very low, when a demon in human form appeared all bespattered with mud and predicted to the Egyptians the increase of the river. He then plunged into its water. No one believed him, but his words proved true. In honor of the event the Pelusian feast was instituted. This festival of the rising of the life-giving Nile might well have served as a prototype for the commemoration of the rising of the life-giving Savior. Again the Sallier calendar gives Phamenoth 25th as one of the days when Osiris conquered Set.[167] If the day was still observed in the Christian era, it would be an appropriate time to celebrate Christ's victory over Hades.

But there are other possibilities. One is that the Basilidians were influenced by their Christian contemporaries. The Quartodecimans of Cappadocia celebrated the crucifixion on March 25th, the Julian equinox.[168] They were not Quartodeciman, of course, in the sense that they observed the 14th of Nisan. The essential for this party was not adherence to Jewish practice[169], but observance of the exact date of the passion regardless of the day.[170] It was but natural that those who used a solar calendar should determine that date according to the sun. Another characteristic of their practice was that the conquest over hell was regarded as the true resurrection rather than the appearance to the disciples.[171] The period of fasting was, therefore, shortened,[172] and the celebration of the death and resurrection tended to coincide.

There are several witnesses to a similar custom in Gaul. The

167 Ed. Meyer, *Set-Typhon.*

168 Epiphanius, *Haer.* II, 50, 1. Dindorf, p. 447.

169 As Schürer supposed, *Zts. f. d. hist. Theol.*, 1870, p. 251, art. *Passastreit.* He is corrected by Bacon, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, p. 413.

170 Euseb., *H. E.* V, 24 and 23.

171 Apollinaris of Hierapolis. *Chronicon Paschale*, cited in *Canonicity*, A. H. Charteris, p. 194. Cf. Bacon, *The Resurrection in Primitive Tradition and Observance, Am. Journal of Theol.* p. 383.

172 Drummond, *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 471, discusses the letter of Basilides to his brother Dionysius of Alex. Routh, *Relig. Sac.* III, p. 223. See Preuschen, art. *Easter Controversy*, in *New Schaff-Herzog Enc.*, vol. IV, 1910.

first is a document published by Lagarde.[173] There are two texts. The shorter was published by Bronkhurst in 1537, the longer by Baluze in 1683. I give below the commencement of each in translation.

Baluze:

When all the apostles had gone from this life, fasts were differently observed throughout the world, for all the Gauls kept the Pascha on one day, March 25th, saying: "Why should we keep the Pascha with the Jews according to the moon? But as the birth of the Lord on whatever day it falls is kept on December 25th, so we ought to keep the Pascha on March 25th, when Christ is said to have risen." The Orientals indeed, as the history of Eusebius relates, keep the Pascha on the fourteenth day of the moon on whatever day of March it might fall. But some in Italy fasted full forty days, some thirty; others said that seven days in which the world was made would do; others because the Lord fasted forty days kept forty hours. Since there was such variety of observance, the clergy were astonished that where there was a unity of faith there should be such diversity of practice in fasting. So Papa Victor, bishop of Rome, ordered that authority should be given to Theophilus of Caesarea, bishop of the province of Palestine, because Jerusalem was not then the metropolis, that the paschal rule might come from that region in which Christ lived.

The account goes on to tell how Theophilus called a council which decided, on the basis of analogies drawn from the creation story, that Easter must fall on the first Sunday after the first full moon after the vernal equinox. The limits were to be March 22nd and April 21st.

Bronkhurst:

After the resurrection or ascension of the Lord and Savior the apostles made no regulation about the observance of the Pascha because they were dispersed throughout the world taken up with preaching, but they kept the Pascha on the

[173] *Mitteilungen*, 3. 4. p. 274ff.

fourteenth of the moon in March no matter what the day. After the apostles had passed from this life there was a diversity of practice in fasting throughout the various provinces, for the Gauls always kept the Pascha on March 25th, no matter what the day of the week when Christ was said to have risen. In Italy, indeed, some fasted twenty days, others seven. The orientals following the apostolic practice, as we saw above, kept the fourteenth of the moon in March. Since, then, there was this difference of practice throughout the various provinces, the clergy were astonished that, where there was unity of faith, there should be diversity in the matter of fasts. So Papa Victor, bishop of Rome, gave authority to Theophilus of Caesarea, president of Palestine, that as the Pascha was rightly celebrated by all the Catholic churches the rule might be drawn up where the Lord and Savior of the world walked in the flesh.[174]

The account continues much as the other.

It will be noticed at once that the longer text mentions the history of Eusebius of Caesarea, and must, therefore, be as late as the middle of the fourth century. This reference is not in the shorter text, but it is probably as late, because Papa is used as a special title for Victor in distinction to Theophilus, who is merely episcopus. The question then arises as to whether the author of this document gives a true account of what happened at Caesarea. According to the longer text the Gauls argued that the Pascha ought to be celebrated on March 25th as the birth was observed on December 25th. Certainly Christmas

[174] There is a very puzzling case of literary relations here on which I am not at all clear. According to Lagarde the shorter text of Bronkhurst came out in 1537, the longer of Baluze in 1683. The *Historia Ecclesiae* of the Magdeburg Centuriators, which came out in 1624, has used the longer text. Here is the passage. *Centuriae*, II Cap. VI, p. 89E. Cum Galli diem unum anniversarium, qui fuit 8 Calend. April. observarent, in quo Pascha celebrarent; dicentes (ut Theophilus indicat): Quid nobis necesse est ad lunae computum cum Judaeis Pascha facere? Quin, sicut Domini natalem, quocunque die 8 calend. Januariis venerit; ita et 8 calend. April., quando resurrectio accidit, Christi debemus Pascha celebrare?

had not been introduced into Gaul nor anywhere else by the time of Victor. If this were the correct reading one would be dubious about the rest of it and inclined to reject the notice that March 25th was the day of the passion. But fortunately there is nothing about December 25th in the shorter text. *Brevior lectio praeferenda.* This objection disappears.

The remainder of the account agrees in the main with Eusebius and the conclusion of the letter of Theophilus which he quotes. To be sure our text says that the Gauls observed March 25th whatever the day of the week. Eusebius represents Irenaeus as writing to Victor in the name of Gaul to say that the resurrection must be observed only on the Lord's day. Irenaeus disapproves very strongly, however, of Victor's action in excommunicating the churches of Asia for Quartodecimanism. This mediating role is more easily explicable if Irenaeus were subject to some pressure in his own community. Further our text says that Victor called a council in Caesarea. Eusebius does not say so, but there is nothing improbable in the account. He who attempted to drive out whole churches had both the will and the power. Our text has nothing about Narcissus of Jerusalem, Cassius of Tyre, Clarus of Ptolemais, but they may have been subordinate figures. The statement of the letter of Theophilus that Palestine followed Alexandria is not inconsistent with the solution given in our manuscript. Easter was to fall on the first Sunday after the first full moon after the vernal equinox. The termini were March 22nd and April 21st. This is in complete accord with what we know of the earliest Alexandrian tables. Dionysius of Alexandria (died 264 A. D.) said that Easter must come after the vernal equinox.[175] Anatolius, first of Alexandria, then of Laodicea (270), chose the first Sunday after the first full moon after the vernal equinox. The termini were probably March 20th and April 4th.[176] Theophilus of Alexandria (wrote 385) had the same rule. His earliest limit was March 21st.[177] The ultimate Alexandrian termini were March

[175] Eus. *H. E.* VII, 20.

[176] *Ibid.*, VII, 32.

[177] Prologus in Petavius, *De Doctrina Temporum*, II, 501; see Ginzel *op. cit.* III, 232.ff.

21st and April 25th.[178] There is thus nothing in our text which is inconsistent with the rest of our information. We may well believe that it rests upon some reliable source. Perhaps we have here preserved a part of the letter of Theophilus of which Eusebius unfortunately gives only the conclusion.

For our purpose the point of interest is that according to this manuscript the Gauls were Quartodecimans in the same sense as the Cappadocians. 1) They observed the day of the month no matter what the day of the week, (*quacunque die*). 2) The passion and the resurrection were commemorated on the same day (*quando Christi resurrectio tradebatur, semper Pascha celebrabant*).

But this is not our only evidence. Duchesne cites the following passage from S. Martinus Dumiensis:[179]

> Until recently many of the Gallican bishops have observed the custom of celebrating the day of the Pascha on March 25th, when, according to the tradition, the resurrection took place.

Note that the Pascha and resurrection are assigned to the same day. Duchesne thought that this must be an error.

We are indebted to Krusch for further examples.[180] The following passage is taken from the spurious *Tractatus S. Adthanasi episcopi Alex. de racione pasche*, § 1. The locality is mentioned only in the Cölner manuscript:

> I know that many are accustomed to inquire with scrupulous accuracy why we keep the Pascha like the Jews at different times according to the moon. It would seem better to them, that, if we commemorate the Lord's passion, we should observe one day, namely the 25th of March, which many of the Gallican bishops are said to have observed until recently.

He gives another passage from the spurious *Prologus S. Cyrilli Alex. Episc. de ratione paschae*, c. 1, which is a witness to the practice, although nothing is said of the place.[181] Ginzel quotes a statement of Bede that such was the practice in Gaul.[182]

178 Ginzel, *op. cit.* III, 222.

179 *Christian Worship*, 263, *S. Martinus Dumiensis*, Migne, *P. L.*, 72, 50. Cf. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 199.

180 *Der 84 jährige Ostercyclus*, p. 90, notes 4 and 6.

181 I have not been able to check this citation.

182 *Op. cit.* III, 219. Beda, *de temp. rat.* c. 47, Migne, *P. L.* 90, 495.

This likelihood is further increased by the fact that the resurrection of Attis was officially celebrated at Rome on the 25th of March.[183] What more natural than that the day should be taken over by the Christians?

We may conclude, then, in spite of the pseudonymity of some of the sources, that the Quartodecimans of Cappadocia and Gaul celebrated the passion and the resurrection on March 25th, the vernal equinox, regardless of the day of the week.[184]

The Basilidians may perhaps have been affected by their influence. We have had reason already to think that Basilides came from Syria. He may there have learned the Cappadocian practice. If so he will doubtless have observed not only the death, but also the resurrection on March 21st. I would suggest that it was to avoid such an implication that Epiphanius put the passion back to March 20th,[185] and the resurrection forward to the 22nd.

But there is still another possibility. The Basilidians may have done exactly the same thing as the Cappadocians and the Gauls and that quite independently. It was notorious that Passover came at about the time of the equinox, and it was extremely common to compare the life of Christ to the course of the sun or of the seasons. Clement of Rome said that the resurrection came at that point in the year when the day triumphs over night and the flowers blossom in newness of life.[186] Theophilus of Antioch compares the death and resurrection to the dying and rising of seasons and days, of seeds and fruits, and to the waning and waxing of the moon.[187] For Pseudo-Cyprian Jesus is the "sun of righteousness with healing in his wings."[188] It became very common, of course, to make such

[183] Mommsen, *CIL*, 1, 2, p. 338 and 390. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 199, ed. 1906. Bacon, *The Resurrection in Primitive Tradition*, 385.

[184] The reader understands, of course, that although the Quartodecimans were the only ones who celebrated the passion at the equinox, they were not the only ones who thought it to have taken place historically at that time. Turner gives a list of those who took this view, *DB*, p. 415. Cf. Dobschütz, *T. u. U.* XI. I, p. 136ff.

[185] *Adv. Haereses*, LI, 27 and 1.

[186] 24.

[187] *ANF*, II, p. 93.

[188] Hartel, p. 266.

comparisons when Christmas had been placed on the birthday of the *sol invictus*.[189] The Basilidians may have chosen March 21st, the spring equinox, as the date of the passion, quite independently of their heathen or Christian contemporaries.

PHARMUTHI 25TH = APRIL 20TH

The first Basilidian day for the passion, March 21st, was connected with the date of Passover. The second was probably suggested by its character as a feast of first-fruits.

There are two items of information which make it likely that the Egyptians had a festival of this sort on Pharmuthi 25th. The first is that in the reign of Sheshonk 1 (966—933 B. C.)[190] there was a feast to Sutekh on this day.[191] One can infer nothing as to the nature of the feast from the fact that Pharmuthi 25th was December 7th in 947 B. C.,[192] the middle of the reign of Sheshonk, because the calendar was rotary and the equation would hold only for that year.

More may be inferred from the character of Sutekh. The name is a variant of Set, known in Greek as Typhon. The god belongs to the earliest cycle, as the brother sometimes of Osiris, sometimes of Horus. Experts differ as to whether Sutekh was originally good or bad.[193] It is abundantly clear that he was adopted by the Hyksos.[194] Probably on this account he came to be regarded as the god of the land beyond Egypt, including the sea.[195] The Ramesids looked upon him as the god of the Semites and identified him with Baal.[196] Like some of the Canaanitish

189 For passages see A. Meyer, *Das Weihnachtsfest*, notes 54—55.

190 Brugsch, *Gesch. Aeg.*, p. 769.

191 Breasted, *Ancient Records Egypt*, IV, § 727.

192 Schram, *Kal. u. Chron. Tafeln*, p. 183.

193 He is regarded as originally good by Ebers, *Aegypten u. d. Bücher Moses*, 1. p. 237 ff. Diestel, *Set-Typhon, Asahel u. Satan, Zts. f. d. hist. Theologie*, 30, 1860, p. 159 ff. Contra, Ed. Meyer, *Set-Typhon*.

194 *Sallier pap.*, No. 1 in *Records of the Past*, vol. VIII, *Soc. of Bib. Archaeology*; also in Goodwin, *Cambridge Essays*, 1858, p. 243. Brugsch, *Gesch. Aeg.*, p. 223. Ebers, *op. c.* 1, p. 204 ff.

195 Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 32 and 38.

196 Breasted, *op. cit.* III, 386, cf. 326, 338, 374 and IV, 104.

Baals he received offerings from the field and the flock.[197] One is tempted to suggest that when the calendar permitted the festival of Pharmuthi 25th was agricultural in character like the Hebrew Mazzoth.

But Sheshonk reigned a thousand years before the period with which we are dealing. In the mean time either the character of Sutekh changed or the attitude toward him. When Egypt was victorious he was honored as the god of the outer land, who brought it into subjection, but when the enemy won, he was blamed, and his name erased from the monuments. He became the representative of all that is destructive.[198] Yet his worship survived. He appears as an object of prayer in the magical papyri, which contain the Basilidian word *abraxas*.[199] Plutarch regarded him as the father of the Jews.[200] But whether the feast on Pharmuthi 25th survived we do not know.

If it did, the similarity of Set in this period to Apollo suggests that the festival may have been one of first fruits. We shall have reason to see in a moment that such offerings were brought to the Greek god. A comparison is not without point because of the close connection between Greece and Egypt. Plutarch tells us that many festivals were celebrated in the two countries on the same day and cites as an example the Thesmophoria.[201] Herodotus says that this feast was introduced into the Peloponnesus through Egypt.[202] What was true of one country was likely to be true of the other.

Horus, to be sure, rather than his brother Set, was usually identified with Apollo.[203] But there were nevertheless many points of correspondence between the latter. Both were in part

[197] *Ibid.* III, 391, on Baal; see Paton, *Enc. Rel. and Ethics.*

[198] Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, 33, 39, 40.

[199] *Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, ed F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, col. XXIII, p. 145, Abraxas, col. XXIII, 24, *verso col.* XIII, 8. *Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums*, von Herrn Parthey, p. 109 ff. *Abh. d. Kön. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1865, Pap. 1, 252, Abraxas, 1, 302, II, 154.

[200] *De Is. et Osid.* 31 and 33.

[201] Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, 69.

[202] *Her.*, 2, 171.

[203] Ebers, *Aeg. u. d. Bücher Moses*, I, p. 248.

at least beneficent solar deities.[204] To both the ass was sacred.[205] Typhon was lord of the sea, and Apollo carried the trident.[206] To Typhon men were burned in the dog days,[207] and to Apollo on the first day of the Athenian feast of Thargelion.[208] In view of these coincidences the rites of Apollo may illustrate those of Set-Typhon.

But we are dealing too much with conjecture. The second item of information is more precise. Theon of Alexandria says in his commentary on the Phaenomenia of Aratus:[209]

[204] The devotee in the *London Leiden Papyrus* (col. xxiii) addresses Typhon as the sun, and resents the shedding of his blood. Plutarch rejected the current opinion that Typhon was a sun-god (*De Is. et Os.* 51—52) but betrayed a solar connection when he said that the ass, sacred to Typhon, was not to be fed while sacrificing to the sun (*Ibid.* 30).

[205] In the case of Typhon, Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 30—31, *London and Leiden Papyrus*, col. xxiii. In the case of Apollo, Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, x, 31. Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses*, 20, cf. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, I, 366.

[206] Dio Chrys. *Oratio*, xxxiii. *Tarsica Prior*, § 1, cf. xi, 76, xxxvii, 32.

[207] Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, 73, cf. Ebers, *op. cit.* I, 246.

[208] We learn from Suidas, II, 2, p. 1423 that on the first day of the Thargelion in Athens the Pharmakos was taken through the city that he might cleanse it by his death. Who the Pharmakos was we learn from a passage in Hipponax, who tells us that at Kolophon, whenever a famine or pestilence occurred, one of the worst criminals was chosen as a Pharmakos of the afflicted city for a sacrifice of cleansing. He was beaten seven times with green fig branches on the genital organ and then burned. *Fragment of Hipponax*, Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, vol. II. p. 752ff. fr. 4—9; see Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, p. 106, cf. A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum*, 468 ff. Schmidt, *Griechische Chronologie*, 296 ff. A. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, 414 ff.

[209] Theon of Alexandria on the *Phaenomenia of Aratos*. Ed. Buhle, p. 69, line 264 ff. This paragraph appears only in the Morelius edition of 1559. It is not found in the *Cod. Mosquensis*. *Ὀλίγας αὐτάς φησι διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀμυδρῶν συγκεῖσθαι ἀστέρων· ὀνόμασθαι δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐπίδοξοι, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν δύσιν πρὸς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἐπιτελλομένων γὰρ τοῦ ἀμήτου ἄρχεσθαι χρή· δυομένων δὲ τοῦ ἀρότου· ἤρι οὖν τὸν ὄρθρον, ἤγουν τὴν ἀνατολήν φησιν· ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον γὰρ ἀνατέλλουσι σὺν ἡλίῳ, ὄντι ἐν τῷ Ταύρῳ. ἀπὸ ε' καὶ εἰκάδος τοῦ φαρμουθὶ μηνός, ὅς ἐστι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις Ἀπρίλλιος, ὅτε καὶ τοῦ θερίζειν ὁ καιρὸς πάρ' Αἰγυπτίοις, ἐσπέριαι δὲ ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας ἀνατέλλουσιν, ἡλίου ὄντος ἐν Σκορπίῳ, Ἀθὺρ μηνί. ὅς ἐστι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις Νοβέμβριος. ὅτε ἐστὶ καιρὸς τοῦ ἀρατριᾶν. τότε γὰρ ἑσπέριαί εἰσιν, ὅτε πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἀνατέλλουσι.*

> When the (Pleiades) rise it is necessary to begin the harvest; when they set the sowing. They are said to rise very early in the morning. Before dawn they come up with the sun, when he is in Taurus, from the 25th of the month of Pharmuthi (= April 20th) which is April among the Romans, when also it is time to harvest among the Egyptians.

We are dealing with the fixed Alexandrian calendar because Pharmuthi is distinctly identified with April. There need be no doubt that we have to do with April 20th. This was the time in Egypt when the Pleiades rose and the harvest began. In itself such a day would be appropriate as a substitute for Passover, but particularly so if it was already the date of an agricultural festival. In this case we may appeal with greater confidence to Greek and Roman parallels. In Greece feasts of first-fruits were connected with the rising of the Pleiades; in Rome agricultural festivals centered about April 20th.

We turn now to these feasts. The Athenian Thargelion has been already mentioned. On the first day the Pharmakos was sacrificed. On the second came a procession carrying first-fruits of every character, figs, corn, newly baked bread and so on. They were called *θαργήλια*; the feast and the month in which it fell *θαργηλιών*.[210] The first fruits were offered on the 7th day of the month.[211] This would not be constant on the Julian calendar because of the shifting of the Attic new year, not to speak of the frequent changes in the method of intercalation. The limits of the octaëteris of Solon were April 22nd and June 22nd. The first would be possible only in a common year, the second in an intercalary. With the improved octaëteris according to Böckh's scheme it can have fallen as early as April 24th in the year Olym. 91, 3, the second of the cycle. Schmidt's reconstruction gives the same result in Olym. 112, 3.[212] The Metonic cycle gives May 2nd as the earliest limit in the

[210] The leading references are cited in Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 480. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, 2, p. 228. Nilsson, *Gricchische Feste*, p. 110.

[211] The evidence for the date is given by A. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

[212] Ginzel, *Math. u. Techn. Chron.*, II, p. 434.

second year.[213] The Calippic cycle gives April 13th in 127, 1.[214] Hence the feast would fall as early as the middle of April or as late as the middle of June. The axis of oscillation would be the rising of the Pleiades, which fell in Boeotia on May 19th in the year 800 B. C., and in Athens in the time of Perikles on May 15/16.[215] This is a month later than in Egypt, but in Greece too the rising of the Pleiades was the signal for the beginning of harvest,[216] which came just a month later.[217]

At Delos, too, we find a feast of first-fruits to Apollo at the time of the rising of the Pleiades. Our knowledge with regard to it, however, has to be pieced together from several sources. Herodotus gives us an account of the Hyperboreans, a people to the north of Asia minor, who sent a yearly procession which gathered gifts of first-fruits from city to city to present to Delos.[218] Pausanias gives a similar account with the addition that the gifts were in honor of Apollo and that Athens transmitted the collected offerings to their destination.[219] Diodorus Siculus tells of the Hyperboreans without mentioning the procession. He states merely that they were worshippers of Apollo and that they were closely related to the Athenians and Delians. There is, however, the significant notice that the epiphany of Apollo began with the spring equinox and ended with the rising of the Pleiades. One would expect that the beginning and the end would be marked by feasts. The procession of first-fruits would naturally have formed the conclusion since the rising of the Pleiades was a sign for the commencement of harvest.[220] If all of these notices be combined we have a yearly procession at the

213 According to Ideler and Schmidt. Tables given in Ginzel, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

214 Ideler's table given by Ginzel, *op. cit.*, p. 416. Unger gets the same result in 112. 4. Mommsen's dates are later, cf. Schmidt, *Gr. Chron.*, p. 298.

215 Schmidt, *ibid.*, p. 297.

216 *Hesiod*, Op. 383. *Scholion on Aratus*, line 137.

217 Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 8, 2, 7.

218 *Her.* 4, 32 and 33.

219 *Paus. Att.* 1, 31, 2, cf. *Callimachus, Eis Delon*, 4, 268.

220 *Diodorus Siculus*, 2, 47.

rising of the Pleiades carrying first-fruits from the Hyperboreans through Asia Minor and Athens to Delos in honor of Apollo.

But the matter is complicated by other information which we have of processions from Athens to Delos in honor of this god. Plato, in the beginning of the Phaedo, tells of one. The ship of Theseus was used for the purpose. From the crowning of the prow by the priest to the return of the party no execution could take place in the city. This may not be the same festival which we have seen above. There is no mention of first-fruits. The points of similarity are that the processions were both yearly; both went from Athens to Delos; both were in honor of Apollo. The primary difficulty is occasioned by the date. A scholion on Sophocles gives the indefinite notice that the sailing of the ship was dependent upon certain signs.[221] Plutarch adds the precise statement that Theseus offered the sacred bow to Apollo on the 6th of Munychion and that the yearly procession took place on that day.[222] Can this be reconciled with the rising of the Pleiades?

According to A. Mommsen's reckoning it can. He figures that Munychion 6th would have been May 19th in Olym. 88, 3 and May 20th in Olym. 90, 3, both initial years of the octaëteris.[223] As we have seen this would be the rising of the Pleiades, and hence would agree with the date of the procession of the Hyperboreans. The choice of a stellar date rather than a day of the Attic calendar would further harmonize with the statement of the scholion of Sophocles that the sailing was dependent upon certain signs and hence not fixed by a day of the month.[224]

The matter might have rested here if evidence had not been

[221] *Schol. Soph.*, O. C. 1047, discussed by A. Mommsen, *Heortologie* p. 402.

[222] Plutarch, *Theseus*, 18 and 23.

[223] For other reconstructions of the octaëteris and a discussion of the whole subject see Ginzel, II, § 214. The tables are on p. 434.

[224] Schmidt perceived that a feast of first-fruits could not have fallen permanently on Munychion 6, because this would have been too early in the Metonic and Calippic cycles. He assumed further that the ship did not return until the Thargelion. In that case it cannot have started as early as Munychion 6 because no execution could take place while it was gone, but Phocion was put to death on Munychion 19 in Oly. 115, 2

discovered which seemed to require a date for the Delia earlier in the year. Mommsen cites an inscription which mentions the Delia and the Apollonia.[225] The Delia comes first. Nilsson assumed that these were equivalent expressions. Apollonia was the name of the feast in Delos, Delia in Athens.[226] He assigned them to the month of Hieros because of inscriptions which mention a feast of Apollo at that time.[227] With this would accord the notice of Dionysius Periegetes of a feast to Apollo in the early spring when the nightingales were breeding.[228] Against this it may be said that there were several feasts of Apollo during the year. The calendar of Homolle gives one in Gamelion and one in Posideon.[229] There is nothing to show that the feast in Hieros is not still another and quite different from the Delia and Apollonia. August Mommsen took this position and dated the Apollonia by the statement of Diodorus Siculus that the epiphany of the god commenced among the Hyperboreans at the spring equinox. This would also explain the notice of Dionysius Periegetes of a feast in the early spring. But since the Delia was mentioned before the Apollonia he placed it on the preceding day.[230] Naturally in that case it could not have been a feast of first-fruits and the procession in the ship of Theseus must be separated from the pilgrimage of the Hyperboreans. The date, Munychion 6, for the former also remains unexplained.[231]

The one fact that has been overlooked is the statement of Diodorus Siculus that the celebrations of the Hyperboreans lasted until the rising of the Pleiades. I would suggest that the festival in Hieros is to be distinguished from the Delia and

I can find no evidence that the ship came back for the Thargelion, but Schmidt is right that a feast of first-fruits must have fallen late enough for the grain to be ripe. The date of the rising of the Pleiades would meet his objections. *Griech. Chron.* p. 292.

225 *Bull. Corres. Hell.* vol. 3 (1879) p. 379.

226 Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 146.

227 ibid. p. 145, note 1.

228 *Dion. Perieg.* 526 ff.

229 *Bull. Corres. Hell.* vol. 14 (1890) p. 492.

230 *Jahresbericht der Alterth. Wiss.* 48—49, 1886—1887, p. 338.

231 A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 451, note 4.

Apollonia. They, too, are to be separated, but the Apollonia is to come first. The order of the inscription is one of importance rather than of chronology. The date of the Apollonia will have been the spring equinox. The Delia and the procession of the Hyperboreans are to be identified and the date will have been the rising of the Pleiades. This avoids the needless complication of their separation and explains the date, Munychion 6, for the initial years of the octaëteris.

But even if these conclusions be incorrect every one will admit that the Hyperboreans made a presentation of first-fruits which, whatever its relation to the Delia, must have come late enough for the grain to be ripe. The notice of Diodorus Siculus that the Hyperboreans finished their celebrations with the rising of the Pleiades makes it almost equally certain that this was the date of the great procession. Hence at Delos as at Athens we have a feast of first-fruits to Apollo, when the Pleiades rose and the harvest began.

The Roman parallels are also instructive. At the Porca Praecideana a pig was immolated and first-fruits offered to Ceres. The festival was movable in character, occurring whenever the grain was ripe. The practice bears upon our subject only in so far as it is another illustration of the universal dissemination of feasts of first-fruits.[232]

More may be inferred from the fact that April 20th fell in the midst of a series of agricultural festivals. On April 15th came the Fordacalia when a pregnant cow was immolated to Ceres.[233] The Cerealia followed on the 19th.[234] On the 21st the shepherds observed the Parilia in honor of their god, Pales, to whom they offered milk and millet cakes.[235] These, indeed, are not first-fruits but they are offerings from the flock and the field like those of the Hebrew Mazzoth.

We may conclude, then, that on Pharmuthi 25th = April 20th,

[232] *Aul. Gel.*, 4, 6. Cato, *de Agri Cult.*, 134.

[233] Varro, *de Lingua Latina*, 6, 15. Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 629 ff. Lydus, *de Mensibus*, IV, 49.

[234] See Wissowa, *Handb. d. Klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, V, 4. *Religion u. Kultus der Römer*, p. 244 ff. Compare Wissowa on the whole subject.

[235] Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 743 and 776.

when the Pleiades rose and the harvest began, the Egyptians celebrated a feast of first-fruits, which the Basilidians chose as an appropriate substitute for Passover, when he who had been slain as our Passover[236] rose as the "*first-fruits* of the sorting out of that which had been mixed up."[237]

PHARMUTHI 19TH = APRIL 14TH

It will be observed at once that April 14th is exactly six days earlier than April 20th. I would suggest that we are dealing not with another date for the crucifixion, but rather with the commencement of the six day period of ritual preparation for Easter. The practice has its roots in the Old Testament. "In six days the Lord made heaven and earth."[238] For six days the cloud covered Sinai.[239] Every Friday was a παρασκευή, the end of the six day period of preparation for the Sabbath.[240] The practice passed into the church. In the papyrus published by Bickell we find a preparation on Tybi 5th for Epiphany on Tybi 11th.[241] This custom may well have affected the gospel narrative. There are six days leading up to an epiphany of Jesus at Cana (Jn. 2 1), and six from the confession of Peter to the epiphany of the Transfiguration (Mk. 9 2). Similar notices appear in the passion history. Mark places the crucifixion six days after the triumphal entry, John six days from the anointing in Bethany (12 1). These intervals are probably due to the ritual observances of the church, because we find several witnesses to a six day fast in preparation for Easter. Such was the practice of Dionysius of Alexandria,[242] the Apostolic Constitutions,[243] and Athanasius in his first festal letter, where he bases the practice

236 I Cor. 5 7.
237 Hippolytus, *Ref.*, VII, 27, 8—12; cf. 1 Cor. 15 20.
238 Ex. 20 11.
239 Ex. 24 16.
240 Compare Bacon, *After Six Days*, *Harvard Theological Review*, Jan. 1915, p. 94.
241 Cited in Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest*, p. 189.
242 Routh, *Rel. Sac.*, vol. II, p. 391.
243 Migne, *P. G.*, 1, 880. *Ap. Const.*, V, 15.

upon the six days of creation.[244] I would suggest, then, that April 14th is not a date of the crucifixion, but rather of the commencement of the preparatory fast.

BIRTH

Clement mentions several calculations of the birth. According to one group it fell on Pachon 25 = May 20. The Basilidians placed it on Pharmuthi 24 or 25 = April 19 or 20. Clement blames them all as over-curious in the determination of the exact date.

Several improbabilities strike us at once in this account. 1) We have nowhere found among the Basilidians the slightest interest in the birth. Some were concerned with the conception, others with the baptism in an adoptionist sense. 2) As the text stands Clement is criticising his opponents for doing exactly what he has done himself. When he said that Jesus was born 194 years, 1 month and 13 days before the death of Commodus, he may not have been aware that according to the era of Nabonassar this would be January 6th, the very day to which his opponents assigned the baptism regarded as the birth. But whether he had noticed this or not it can scarcely have escaped him that no matter what the chronological system, he was determining the day of the birth with the utmost precision.

The solution of the difficulty is found in the following passage of Epiphanius:[245]

> For we have found it objected where it is written in these words that the Word of God was begotten from God about the fortieth year of Augustus, which was a slip of the writer, or else the number of the β being erased the $\mu\nu$ alone remaining, he made only forty years; for in the forty second year of Augustus he was begotten. It seems that it was twelve days before the calends of July or June, I cannot say which, in the consulship of Sulpicios Camerinos and Bettios Pompianos. But this I have looked into that there are some who

[244] *S. Athanasii Epistola Festalis*, 1. A. Mai, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, VI, pt. 1, p. 28—29.

[245] *Epiphanii Adversus Haereses*, II, 51, § 29, ed. Dindorf, p. 494.

declare that the day of the conception, when Gabriel made the annunciation to the Virgin—they declare that it is the conjecture of some who say in the tradition that he was conceived in seven months: for we find from the pledge to Tybi 11 and eight days before the ides of January, when the theophany really took place and he was born, seven months time according to the moon's course minus four days, so if you find then where it is written in the tradition be not offended at the sight. Truly the established birth of Christ is Tybi 11th. But some say that he was conceived in ten months minus fourteen days and eight hours i. e. nine months fifteen days and four hours, hinting at that which was spoken by Solomon, "In the tenth month the springs are in blood," so it is in every way clear that on Tybi 11th according to the Egyptians the before mentioned birth of the Lord in the flesh came to pass. And on this same eleventh after thirty years was the first sign in Cana of Galilee, when he made the water wine.

Two things are plain from this passage;

1) Epiphanius is discussing the conception. This cannot be nferred from his employment of the words *γέννησις* and *ἐγεννήθη*, vhich he uses very loosely for both conception and birth,[246] but ortunately we have here the more technical term *σύλληψις*.

2) He is referring to one of the dates mentioned by Clement, May 20th. He gives two dates, May 21st, and June 20th, but he expression indicates that he really meant the same date in ach month, eight days before the calends of June and July. The difference arises because the count went backwards from ne end of the month and the number of days in these months ; not equal. Which day he meant, the twentieth or the twenty rst, is indicated by his reckoning of seven months minus four ays according to the moon from January sixth. If twenty nine ays be allowed for a moon month this will give June 20th. We ay assume that the other date was May 20th. We thus dis- over that this was a date not of the birth, but of the conception.

[246] Cf. 459, line 23, *τῆς ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννήσεως*, the birth in Bethlehem, 460, ne 12, *ὅτι ἐγεννήθη ἐν πν. ἁγ.*, that he was conceived in the Holy Spirit.

This clears up our passage in Clement. There is an error in the text. Instead of γένεσις we should read γέννησις, conception rather than birth. Clement is not blaming his opponents for setting the day of the birth. That he had done himself, but rather for reckoning the day of the conception which was necessarily indeterminate. What applies thus to May 20th, will of course apply equally to the Basilidian dates, April 19th and 20th. We are dealing not with the birth, but with the conception.[247]

But the question at once arises as to whether it is so clear that this explanation can be extended to the Basilidian dates. Could those who differed but four days,[248] on the date of the birth disagree a whole month on that of the conception? They could, indeed, because of the wide variety of opinion as to the exact length of the period of gestation. Censorinus tells us that Theonus, the Pythagorean, Aristotle, the Peripatetic, Diocles, Euenor, Straton, Empedocles, Epigenes and many others believed that birth could take place in the seventh month. Euryphon Cnidius vigorously denied it, preferring the eighth. The followers of Epicharmus disagreed with him. The Chaldeans said that it might happen in the ninth or the tenth month, and Aristotle even named the eleventh. Hippon Metapontinus was the wisest of them all in that he allowed any time from the seventh to the ninth.[249] With regard to the birth of Christ, Epiphanius reckoned nine months, fifteen days and four hours.[250] Augustine calculated nine months and six hours, Chrysostom and Cosmas speak roughly of nine months.[251] There is thus no reason whatever why those who assigned the birth to January 6th, may not have placed the conception on May 20th or April 20th.

The next question is to discover why these dates were chosen.

[247] Lagarde made this suggestion with regard to May 20th. He did not support it by the passage in Epiphanius, nor did he extend his argument to the explanation of the Basilidian dates. *Mitth.* 3, 4, p. 265.

[248] Tybi 11th and 15th would be dates of the birth not only for Adoptionists, but also for all who used the Lucan chronology and placed exactly 30 years between the baptism and the birth.

[249] Censorini, *De Die Natali*, VII, 7.

[250] See the passage given above.

[251] See below.

We observe at once that April 20th is the date to which Basilides assigned the crucifixion. There is ample evidence to show that this coincidence was the determining factor. There were a great many in the church who set the conception and the crucifixion or resurrection on the same day. Ephraem Syrus says:[252]

> In Nisan the Lord of Thunder weakened his heat through sympathy, and entered into the womb of Mary that he might dwell there; in Nisan again he has shown himself strong, and after loosing the womb of hell is risen.

Augustine gives us some equally illuminating information:[253]

> Not without reason did the Lord, speaking of the building of his body, in whose figure the temple was destroyed by the Jews, say that he would raise himself up in three days; the number six itself is known being placed before the year, for they said (Jo 2 20), "Forty and six years was this temple in building," and forty six by six give two hundred and seventy six, which makes nine months and six days, so, since ten months are reckoned to child-bearing women, (not that all come to birth on the sixth day after the nine months, but because in so many days the perfection of the Lord's body was learned, as the authority of the church guards the tradition received from the elders) so he is believed to have been conceived eight days before the calends of April = March 25, *on which day also he died.* And as he was buried in a new tomb, where no other mortal had been placed (Jo 19 41) neither before nor after, so it behooved that he should be conceived in the womb of a virgin, where no mortal had ever been generated. The tradition is that he was born eight days before the calends of January = December 25. Reckoning from the one day to the other then, there are two hundred and seventy six, which is six times forty six.

252 *Ephraim Syrii Hymnus*, XXI, *De Resurrectione Christi*, v. 10, Lamy 2, 774. I have translated the German of Usener, *Das Weihnachtsfest*, p. 200, which see for other references.

253 Aug., *De Trinitate*, IV, 5, 9. Migne, *P. L.*, 42, p. 894. Cf. Cyril of Alex. to Leo, Migne, *P. L.*, 54, p. 605, *quia eodem die conceptus in utero est, et mortuus in cruce.*

It is to be observed that March 25th, the spring equinox, which we have so often found as the day of the crucifixion, is for Augustine also the day of the conception.

Chrysostom arrives at the same result by figuring forward from what he takes to be the date of the conception of John in Luke, and backwards from December 25th as the birth.[254] The calculations are found in his sermon on Christmas. He commences by saying that it is only ten years since the celebration of the birth of Christ on December 25th had been introduced into his church at Antioch. There had been a good deal of dispute about it in his congregation, some asserting that it was new, some that it was old, being celebrated from Thrace to Gadara. He attempts to establish its validity by three arguments. 1) If it were not correct it could not have spread so rapidly. 2) Any one who consults the Roman records will find the day of the census mentioned by Luke. 3) The exact day may be worked out from the notices in Luke. When Mary conceived Elizabeth was in her sixth month (Lk. 1 36). There were thus three months between the births of John and Jesus. Zacharias could go into the Holy of Holies only once a year on the tenth of the seventh month (reckoning from Nisan, Lev. 16 29).

> So it was then that the promise was made to Zacharias. The time of the promise was that of the feast of tabernacles and of the fasting, for this is that which was written, "Humble your souls" (Lev. 16 29). The feast was kept among the Jews about the last of the month of Gorpiaios, as ye witness (There were many Jews in Antioch) — — — The six months of the conception of Elizabeth are Hyperberetaios = October, Dios = November, Apellaios = December, Audynaios = January, Peritios = February and Dystros = March. After this sixth month came the commencement of the conception of Mary. Whence reckoning nine months we reach the present day (December 25th). April is the first month of the con-

[254] *S. Joannis Chrysostomi in Diem Natalem D. N. Jesu Christi*, Migne *P. G.*, 49, pp. 357—358, § 6.

ception of the Lord, which is Xanthikos,[255] after which Artemisios = May, Daisios = June, Panemos = July, Lōos = August, Gorpiaios = September, Hyperberetaios = October, Dios = November, Apellaios = December, and this is the present month in which we keep the day.[256]

Chrysostom does not give the exact day of the conception, but he says that it fell in the month of March, nine months before the twenty-fifth of December. This would land him at the twenty fifth of March, the day so often chosen for the crucifixion. We thus have the same coincidence of the conception, and the crucifixion or resurrection, which we found in Augustine.

Cosmas Indicopleustes gives us an even more precise section "on the conception of the Lord":[257]

> Zacharias going into the temple according to the tradition of the law on the tenth of the seventh month and being told that he would beget John by Elisabeth, in her sixth month it was announced to the Virgin that this was the commencement of the first month; for since Zacharias was told on the tenth of the seventh month and Elisabeth conceived in that same month, it is clear that six months of the year were gone and six to come, minus ten days and another two or three or seven until Zacharias went to his house, so that there were 168 or 167 or 163 days. It is possible then to know the beginning of the conception of the Lord, that is the beginning of the first month—it was indeed the sixth to Elisabeth according to the tradition of the gospels, for God always has and does guard this order—since also all keep the birth of our

255 Montfaucon usually eliminates the Julian equivalents of the Macedonian months as later additions. Usener, p. 226, note 18, thinks that this should be done here also.

256 The Antiochian months here used are the exact equivalent of the Julian. This is proved by the *Florentine and Leyden Hemerologia*, published together in 1809 by St. Croix, *Histoire de l'Acad. royale des Inscript. et Belles-lettres avec les Mémoires de littérature*, Paris, Tome 47, pp. 66—84, cited in Ginzel, *op. c.*, III, 31.

257 *Cosmae Indicopleustae Topographiae Chr.*, V, 194, Migne, *P. G.*, 88, 196.

Lord, the ninth month having been completed from the beginning of the first month, on Choiak 28 = December 25.

Cosmas is more precise and hence less consistent than Chrysostom. He reckons a maximum of 168 days to the conception from September 1, the seventh month. (The Jewish and Antiochian year began with March.) This would land him at March 18th. He reckons back nine months from December 25th, which would bring him to March 25th. Which reckoning he preferred matters little for our purpose. March 18th was the date of the entrance of the sun into Aries. March 25th was the equinox. Both were dates to which the crucifixion was commonly assigned.[258] We see once more that the conception was placed on the day of the crucifixion and resurrection.[259]

When Easter was universally accepted as a movable feast the synchronism was lost because March 25th was retained for the conception.[260] As such it was widely regarded as New-Year's day and remained such in England until 1751, when the Gregorian calender was introduced.[261] The annunciation falls to this day on March 25th in the Roman church. The modern Egyptians celebrate it on Phamenoth 29th, which is April 26th on the Gregorian basis, but March 25th on the Julian.[262] The Greek church too places on March 25th the εὐαγγελισμὸς τῆς θεοτόκου.[263] All of this is witness to the earlier practice of placing the conception and the crucifixion on the same day.

We thus find not only an explanation of why the Basilidians placed the crucifixion and the conception on April 20th, but further an added support for our contention that such was really the case. I know of only one clear case in which the birth is placed in the spring at all, and that is in the treatise on the Computation of Passover in Hartel's edition of Cyprian.[264] The author assigns the birth to Wednesday March 27th, the day on

[258] On March 18th see *Epiphanius*, II, 51, 1, Dindorf, p. 447.
[259] Cf. Cyril of Alex. to Leo, Migne, *P. L.*, 54, p. 605.
[260] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.*, Dindorf 1, 22.
[261] Ginzel, *op. c.*, III, p. 275.
[262] Lagarde, *Mitth.*, 3—4, p. 292. He quotes *Nilles*, 2, 643.
[263] Ginzel, *op. c.*, III, p. 308.
[264] Page 266.

hich God created the sun. The date on the statue of Hippo-tus, April 2nd, is in dispute because his commentary on Daniel as December 25th.[265] We may regard it then as the almost niversal custom to observe a synchronism between the con-eption and the crucifixion. For that reason it is even more kely that we are dealing here not with the birth at all, but ather with the conception.

The explanation of the choice of May 20th does not fall rictly within our province since we are dealing primarily with ne chronology of Basilides, but it may not be out of the way devote a line to it in passing. Lagarde says that the Egyptian hurch to-day celebrates the entrance of the child Jesus into gypt on that day (Pachon 25th = May 20th). He cites no ncient employments of the day, but assumes that it must go ack to antiquity, and that it probably came originally from a eathen feast.[266] That is rather a slender thread. The reader ill remember that May 20th was the date of the rising of the leiades in Greece and the point of oscillation for the Thar-elion and the Delia. I would suggest that some sect chose it r that reason as the date of the conception and crucifixion.

Before taking up April 19th it will be of interest to consider ne bearing of these facts upon the interpretation of Luke. Chry-ostom and Cosmas are not right that Zacharias could go into ne Holy of Holies because he was not the High Priest, but mply one of the lower order of the course of Abijah (1 Chron. 4 11). Neither does Luke say that he went into the Holy of olies. This feast is not, therefore, necessarily that of Taber-acles. But nevertheless Chrysostom and Cosmas are right that uke has a chronological interest here. He says that Zacharias aited until his course was over before he went home. The ourse lasted a week. At the maximum the conception of Eli-abeth could have been eight days later than the promise. The onception of Mary came after another six months, hence as osmas says possibly 168 days from the promise to Zacharias.

265 See Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, 3. 4, pp. 296 and 317. See also Kellner, *Heortology*.

266 Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, 3. 4, p. 265.

Now although there is nothing to prove that Luke regarded this as the feast of Tabernacles, there is also nothing to prove that he did not. If he did the conception would have fallen on March 18th, and, in view of what we have seen above, probably the death too. Now the only year in which March 18th fell in the neighborhood of Passover and on a Friday, was the year 29 A. D., when it came on Friday, Nisan 13th, just one day before the Passover.[267] This may perhaps account for Luke's choice of the year 29 A. D. for the crucifixion.

PHARMUTHI 24TH = APRIL 19TH.

April 19th, like April 20th, will have been a date of the conception and of the death. If differs by only one day from the date which we have just considered.

There are two possibilities. 1) The first is that there was a single celebration with a double date. The Egyptian day began with the morning twilight. Hence an event which continued from the evening until the morning received a double date.[268] Christian festivals were evening fasts terminated by morning feasts,[269] and were, therefore, susceptible to this manner of dating. We actually find several instances in which Epiphany was assigned to the 5th and 6th of January.[270] The same may well have been true of Easter.

2) The other possibility is that there was a difference of local observance. This was common enough in the case of festivals attached to the appearance of a heavenly body, which would actually vary in different localities and would be hard to observe with accuracy in any case.[271] It may well be that the rising of the Pleiades was celebrated in one place on April 20th and in another on the 19th.[272]

[267] See Fotheringham's tables on page 107.

[268] Ginzel, *Math. u. Techn. Chron.*, 1, § 34.

[269] Epiphany among the Basilidians, Clement Al., *Str.*, 1, 21, 146 Easter, *Euseb.*, 5, 24, 12.

[270] *Epiphanius*, Dindorf 2, 51, § 24, pp. 488—489; § 27, p. 493.

[271] Ginzel, *ibid.*, 1, § 40.

[272] See A. Meyer, *op. c.*, note 22, for a variation of a day in the date of Epiphany.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Recently Published Fragmentary Texts of the New Testament: a Summary

AMONG the thousands of literary and non-literary fragments brought to light within a generation are scores of bits of vellum and papyrus bearing portions of the New Testament text. Most of them are very brief and show regrettable lacunae, though a few are much longer (e. g. *OP* 657,—He. 2 14—5 5; 10 8—11 13; 11 28—12 17; vol. iv., p. 36). Some of these fragments have been noted (Gregory, Wesseley, v. Soden, Deissmann, Kenyon) and cited in such books as Moulton and Milligan, Abbot-Smith. Collations are yet to appear.

Including two fragments from the IV Gospel—8 14–22; 16 14–30 (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XV, 1922) 79 papyrus and vellum fragments bear witness to 1210 verses of the New Testament text.

Book	*Total Vss.—No. Rep. in Fragments*	*% of entire text*
Mt.	1071	236	22.03
Mk.	678	143	21.24
Lk.	1151	193	16.68
Jo.	887	156	17.58
Ac.	1007	83	8.24
Ro.	433	68	15.7
1 C	406	76	18.71
2 C	255	8	3.13
Gal.	118	39	33.05
Phil.	104	16	15.38
1 Th.	89	8	9

Book	*Total Vss.—No. Rep. in Fragments*		*% of entire text*
Titus	113	11	9.73
He.	303	89	29.37
Jas.	108	38	35.19
1 P	110	17	15.45
1 J	105	6	5.71
Re	403	23	5.7
17	6341	1210	19.06

Total No. of books of N. T. 27 No. Represented—17 = 63 %

These fragments range by centuries:

III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Doubtful (scholars not agreed)
6	19	23	15	5	3	1	7

With one exception, Mt. 13 37–46; 13 55—14 8; 14 29—15 3; 15 15–26, the fragments later than Cent. VI are brief, in all 88 verses (VII, 34; VIII, 47; IX, 7).

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NOTES ON THE GOSPEL OF MARK

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1. *A Literary Parallel to Mk 6 18.* In Dio Cassius' *History* LXV, xv, we read of the "incestuous queen" whose brazen amours called forth a well known allusion from Rome's greatest satirist, and provoked popular protest from Rome itself; not so much, doubtless, because of any still surviving virtue of ancient Rome, as because the woman was of Jewish birth, her paramour the conqueror of Jerusalem and prospective emperor. Cassius himself has little sympathy with the popular protest directed against the conduct of his hero Titus. The extent to which it represented Roman feeling generally may be judged from the fact that Titus himself found it expedient to yield. The following is Cassius' account of the scene in one of the theatres of Rome in the year 75 A. D.:

> Bernice was at the height of her power and consequently came to Rome along with her brother Agrippa. The latter was accorded pretorial honors, while she dwelt in the palace and cohabited with Titus. She expected to be married to him and behaved in all respects as his wife. But when he perceived that the Romans were displeased at the situation he sent her away; for various reports were in circulation (cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* VI, 155 f.). At this time too certain sophists of the cynic school managed somehow to slip into the city: first Diogenes entered the theatre when it was full of men and denounced them (Titus and Bernice) in a long, abusive speech, for which he was flogged; after him Heras, who showed no greater disposition to be obedient,

gave vent to many senseless bawlings in the true cynic (dog-like) manner, and for this behavior was beheaded.

One can imagine that Christians in Rome in the year 75 would have had less contemptuous words by which to characterize the bold denouncers of imperial vice, the second of whom paid the penalty for his daring with decapitation.

Internal evidence and ancient tradition give many indications in common for the origin of the Gospel of Mark in Rome not far from this date. Among the elements which appear latest in the composition, and certainly have a highly legendary cast is the story of the martyrdom of John the Baptist, attached in parenthetic manner after the account of how the mighty works of Jesus came to the ears of Antipas, drawing from him the utterance "John, whom I beheaded, is risen again" (Mk. 6 17-29).

It would be superfluous to dwell on the notorious inaccuracies of this digression, which Holtzmann has called *Das Muster einer Legende.* We have no reason to question the substantial accuracy of Josephus' account of the same occurrence, according to whom it had none of the dramatic and spectacular features of the story of Mark, but took place far from Galilee, at Machaerus, near the scene of John's activities, simply as a precaution of "that fox", the Tetrarch of Galilee, against possible messianistic agitation. In the nature of the case the despatch of the prophet would be kept as much as possible from popular knowledge.

In raising the question whether in Mk. 6 18 we may not have a reflection of the Roman incident related by Cassius it is far from our purpose to deny the Old Testament basis of the story as a whole. It is undoubtedly Mark's object here as in 1 2, 6, to bring out the correspondence between John and Elijah. For this purpose he paints Herodias in colors appropriate to Jezebel, while Antipas plays the part of Ahab. The offer (impossible for Antipas to make, who was not a "king" but a mere tetrarch) of "half of my kingdom" to the "little maid (κοράσιον)" for her dancing (she was not Antipas' daughter, nor a "little maid", but a widow or divorcée of some 28 years, and later, if not already at this time, the wife of Philip, here

represented as husband of her mother), is a trait from the story of Esther (Esth. 5 3-6). It is at least possible that in the account of the "king's" keeping John safe and hearing him gladly we have a reflection of Paul's imprisonment by Felix, and his hearings before Festus and Agrippa II (Acts 24 24f.). But in none of these models does the particular trait appear of the denunciation of the royal couple for their adulterous union, and it is precisely this trait which is the most incongruous with the real vocation of the Baptist. What else in fact can we call it if not "unberufen" for the anchorite of the wilderness of Judea to leave his exhortations of his own people to prepare by repentance for the great Day of Jehovah and betake himself to Galilee to denounce publicly the Edomite-Samaritan tetrarch of the region for his illicit relations with his sister in law-niece? Surely if it was any business of the Judean prophet to superintend the morals of the Herodian family he had work enough at this alone, without the added responsibility of conducting a popular reformation near the mouth of the Jordan. We may well recognize the scene of debauchery in the palace at Tiberias (the guests are "the chief men of *Galilee*") as the handiwork of those Jewish word-painters who (as Josephus tells us) after the disaster to Antipas' army at the hands of the outraged father in law Aretas in 36 A. D. began to explain that "the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John, who was called the Baptist". The brush-strokes are of the true scriptural, Jewish-hortatory type. But it is doubtful if we can include among these conventional traits the particular feature of the prophet's denunciation of "the king" to his face for his adulterous union. Given the Roman incident of 75 A. D. and the probable origin of the Gospel at Rome shortly afterward it may be worth while to raise the question whether this particular legendary trait was not suggested by it.

2. *The 'Abridgment of the Days' in the Great Tribulation, Mk. 13 20.* The peculiar statement of Mark (omitted by Luke, modified by Matthew to the extent of reduction to the passive, impersonal form) that "the Lord shortened the days" of the

Great Tribulation on "those that are in Judea", brings to a close his description of this period in the account of 'the last things'. It is not a mere figure of speech. This is apparent not merely from the unusual term used to designate this "shortening" (ἐκολόβωσεν, that is "amputated", "cut short"), but from the fact of its reappearance in a later fragment of the *Enoch* apocalypses. In my commentary on Mark entitled *Beginnings of Gospel Story, ad loc.* reference is made to an earlier attempt to explain the origin of the conception by the use of Ps. 102 23 LXX published in *ZNW.* III, iv. pp. 280—285. As I am now disposed to regard this attempt as unsuccessful the note may here be reprinted:

> The doctrine of the shortening (Gr.: "amputation") of the days of Messiah, i. e., reduction of the period of painful waiting, is referred to in *Ep. Barn.*, iv. 3 (ca. 135 A. D.) in a quotation from a lost portion of the Enoch literature: "As Enoch saith, 'For to this end the Master hath cut short the seasons and the days, that his Beloved might hasten and come to his inheritance'." It seems to rest on Ps. 102 23 (Greek version).

As explained in a footnote *ibid.* "Heb. 1 10–12 takes the passage Ps. 102 23 as addressed to Christ, rendering verse 23: 'He answered him in the way of his strength, tell me the fewness of my days', etc." But whatever the possible connection of the psalm with the Enoch doctrine, it is probable that we should rather look for its basis to some pseudo-Isaian apocalypse such as that employed by Paul in Eph. 5 14 and subsequently quoted by Justin Martyr (*Dial.* lxxii) and Irenaeus (*Haer.* III, xx, 4 and IV, xxii, 1). This is made more probable by the use of the messianic title "the Beloved" (cf. Eph. 1 6; Col. 1 13), which is uniform in the pseudo-Isaian literature as it has come down to us.

The idea as applied in Mk. 13 20 is clearly apocalyptic, as in the Enoch fragment. No doubt, however, this apocalyptic idea rests upon some Old Testament utterance capable of being taken in the apocalyptic sense. In Rom. 9 28 Paul makes a similar application of the passage Is. 28 22 LXX. Quoting first Is. 10 22f.: "If the number of the children of Israel be as the

sand of the sea it is (only) the remnant that shall be saved" (cf. Mark "no flesh would have been saved"), he adds from Is. 28 22: "For the Lord will make a reckoning upon the earth, accomplishing and abridging it" (λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ποιήσει Κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς). The quotation itself is somewhat "abridged". Western and Syrian texts assimilate to LXX by adding after συντέμνων: ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ· ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον. They probably understand δικαιοσύνη of the LXX (perhaps correctly) in the sense of "goodness", "mercy" (cf. Mt. 6 1; I Jn. 1 9). Sanday and Headlam (*ICC* on Rom. *ad loc.*) explain the variations of the LXX from the Hebrew in this passage by "inability to translate".

> For 'a final work and a decisive, overflowing with righteousness', they wrote 'a word' (better 'reckoning'), accomplishing and abridging it 'in righteousness', and for 'a final work and a decisive', 'a word (reckoning) will the Lord do (make)' etc.

Except for their own translation of ποιήσει λόγον as "do a word", for which we have ventured to substitute "make a reckoning", the statement of the case by Sanday and Headlam appears to be correct. The LXX, followed by the Western texts, seem to have understood the passage as a promise that the divine "reckoning with the earth (λόγον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς)" would be cut short in the mercy of God, so that a remnant might be saved. This appears to be in fact the sense in which it is also understood by Paul. The question for us to consider is whether it be not this same passage of Isaiah in the LXX rendering which underlies the apocalyptic utterance of Mk. 13 20 and the Enoch fragment of *Barn.* iv. 3. Let it be remembered that the application in Mark is as in Rom. 9 25ff. to the saving of a remnant from the multitude of Israel in the Great Tribulation on "those that are in Judea" when the Lord makes his reckoning with them.

> For those days shall be tribulation such as hath not been the like from the beginning of the creation which God created until now, and never shall be. And if the Lord had not abridged (ἐκολόβωσεν) those days, no flesh would have been saved; but on account of the elect whom he chose out he abridged (ἐκολόβωσεν) the days.

3. *The Opening of the Prison-house to Them that were Bound.* In Mk 3 22-30 our evangelist interjects parenthetically into his account of the logion "My mother and brethren" an extract from Q. Such has been at least the general verdict of critics regarding this briefer version of the incident of the Blasphemy of the Scribes (Mt. 12 22-32 = Lk. 11 14-22; 12 10), though Wellhausen chooses this as one of the principal pillars of his peculiar theory of priority of Mark over the Second Source. According to Wellhausen the literary dependence is unmistakable, but is on the side of the Q material, which amplifies from Mark. The fact that this peculiar theory so largely depends upon the passage lends added significance to our enquiry.

The artificial character of the connection in Mark is not disputed. This is one of the most conspicuous of the many instances which justify the criticism of "the Elder" quoted by Papias regarding this Gospel that it was not "in (chronological?) order", but represented addresses of Peter "adapted to the (religious) needs" of his hearers. "The scribes who came down from Jerusalem" are really introduced to the reader as if for the first time in 7 1. It is a manifest disregard of chronological sequence to introduce them here. To say that Jesus "began to speak in parables" anticipates similarly 4 1-12, though less flagrantly. Inner connection between the parenthesis and its context is hard to discover. The motive for the insertion appears to be merely to offset the comparatively venial fault of Jesus' Mother and Brethren, who had "come forth to lay hold upon him, saying 'He is beside himself'," by the "unforgiveable sin" of the scribes. Mark thus brings both classes of "outsiders" from whom the "mystery of the kingdom of God" was hid, according to the ensuing section, to the reader's apprehension. As usual in his borrowings of Q material this evangelist disregards the teaching, except in so far as it serves his purpose of narrative. The occasion which led to the blasphemy (marvel of the multitudes at the casting out of a "dumb devil") is omitted, also Mt. 12 27 f. = Lk. 11 19 f.: "If I cast out by Beelzebub, by whom do your sons exorcize? If contrariwise I cast out by divine power (Mt. "by the finger", Lk. "By the

Spirit of God"), then the divine sovereignty has overtaken you unaware (ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς)".

But it is just this passage which contains the essence of the teaching in Q. The dilemma compels the opposing scribes either to admit their own adherents to be guilty of the charge they bring against Jesus, or to recognize the truth of his message "The kingdom of God is at hand". We must turn presently to the nature of this argument from the mighty works to a present "sovereignty of God" as developed in the Second Source. For the time being we note only that it fails to appear in Mark save in a much altered form (Jesus personally as Son of Man exercizes divine authority and power). Mark's interest in the anecdote of the Blasphemy of the Scribes does not extend to this teaching. He is only concerned to prove the heinousness of their offence in saying "He hath an unclean spirit" (verse 30). That which serves to show the divine commission and power of Jesus (not the presence of the "finger" or "Spirit of God"), and the unpardonable wickedness of the scribes is retained. That which would explain to us the motives for the utterances on both sides is discarded.

Wellhausen argued from verse 28, reproduced verbatim in Mt. 12 31 but omitted by Luke, in favor of his view that the title Son of Man was a mere mistranslation. As regards this theory the reader may consult the preceding volume of this Journal.[1] But even were this origin for the title granted it would be difficult to regard Mk. 3 28 as more original than its Q parallel Lk. 12 10 = Mt. 12 32. Here the same distinction is made as earlier in the same Q discourse between the significance of Jesus personally, and of his work. John, who has heard of his work, and who is granted new evidences of this, is bidden to disregard the personality of the agent, but to take note that the promises of Isaiah of healing, forgiveness, reconciliation, restoration to life, sent from Jehovah to a people poor, broken-hearted, "dead", but now penitent, are being marvellously fulfilled. If anyone asks "Art thou this or that?" tell him the things which ye see and hear, says Jesus, and

[1] Vol. XLI (1922), Parts I and II.

adds significantly, "Blessed is he who shall not be stumbled in me." For the incident of John's Enquiry is related only for the purpose of removing the objections of those who are in fact "stumbled", as the evangelist knows.

It is in the light of this all-important distinction between the agent and the divine Power which works through him, that the utterance about the "unpardonable sin" of the scribes becomes intelligible. Mark obscures this, thus showing his a secondary form. The Q form of the logion makes it daylight-clear:

Mt. 12 32.	Lk. 12 10.
And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit it shall not be forgiven him either in this world or that which is to come.	And whosoever shall speak against the Son of Man it shall be forgiven him, but he that blasphemeth the Holy Spirit shall never be forgiven.

It is easy to see why Mark, habitually solicitous to prove the divine commission of Jesus and the unpardonable iniquity of the Jews in rejecting him, should change this doctrinally difficult saying into the form "All things shall be forgiven to *the sons of men*, whatever their sins or the blasphemies they have blasphemed, but whosoever blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit ... Because they said 'He hath an unclean spirit'." If this Markan form was the original, transformation into that of Q as given above is inexplicable, even if we assume the title Son of Man to be a product of mistranslation.

But the really decisive consideration is the relation of both the Q logia to the Isaian prophecy on which they rest. For both the answer to the Baptist (not included in Mark) and that to the scribes which so closely follows it in Q, rest upon a Christology directly based upon the Isaian prophecies of redemption, particularly the prophecies of the Servant as quoted in Mt. 12 18-21 from Is. 42 1ff. and Lk. 4 18f. from Is. 61 1f. In the case of the quotations from Is. 41 1ff. and 61 1 ff. we are unfortunately unable to draw directly from Q, our first and third evangelists having adapted the material to their own

uses. Still the two passages stand in line with unquestionable Q material, and at least reflect the Second Source, if only indirectly. The poetry of this Source is unfortunately lost for the most part upon Mark, and is only recoverable for the modern reader as he restores it from the coincident fragments of Matthew and Luke, *comparing at the same time the Isaian prophecies in relation to which the evangelist wishes the career of Jesus to be understood.*

In the case of the Answer to the Baptist (Mt. 11 5 = Lk. 7 22) there is fortunately no dispute as to the underlying scripture. The phraseology of Is. 29 18f., 32 5f., 61 1 is so closely followed that all interpreters perceive that the author of the Second Source intends to represent Jesus' work of healing, forgiveness, and "glad tidings to the poor" as a fulfilment of the Isaian promise. To some extent the poetry of Q is lost through a disposition on the part of the canonical evangelists to present the concrete instance or otherwise to subserve special interests. Thus Luke introduces a resuscitation from the dead immediately before the utterance "the dead are raised up" (7 11-17; cf. verse 22 = Mt. 11 5). The real meaning of the Q logion is the resuscitation of Israel to new life as once more a people of God. This becomes apparent by reference to the context of Old Testament prophecy (Is. 9 2; 26 19; Ez. 37 1-14) and that of the logion itself, in which the "poor" who hear "glad tidings" are of course those of Is. 52 1-10, the "ransomed of Jehovah" who are restored by his forgiving loving-kindness. Contemporary Jews familiar with the prayer for national restoration in the *Shemoneh Esreh* could hardly mistake the sense:

> Thou art mighty forever, O Lord; thou restorest life to the dead, thou art mighty to save; who sustainest the living with beneficence, quickenest the dead with great mercy, supporting the fallen and healing the sick, and setting at liberty those who are bound, and upholding thy faithfulness to those who sleep in the dust. Who is like unto thee, O Lord the Almighty; or who can be compared unto thee, O King, who killest and makest alive again, and causest help to spring forth? And faithful art thou to quicken

the dead. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest the dead.

In like manner the beautiful story of the "Woman that was a Sinner", which Luke inserts at the end of the group, but which Matthew omits in accordance with his uniform practice regarding the heroines of the Special Source, exemplifies the "glad tidings to the poor". Luke has perhaps slightly displaced the incident, and has certainly embellished it with a few incongruous traits borrowed from the Anointing in Bethany which he omits, apparently taking it as another form of the same story. But the story of the Penitent Harlot displays the same characteristic distinction between Mark and Q. In Mk. 2 5-10 Jesus declares sin forgiven by virtue of his authority as Son of Man, not even waiting for evidences of penitence, and proves his claim by the exertion of miraculous power. In the story of the Penitent Harlot the announcement of the "glad tidings" is due to the evidence of grateful love. Jesus vindicates his right to proclaim forgiveness by this proof that the Spirit or "finger" of God is at work. "Simon", his Pharisee host, is "stumbled in him". He should take notice rather of what God's sovereignty is accomplishing among them (ἐν ὑμῖν). Seeing how "she loved much" Simon should feel no surprise at the "prophet's" declaration "Thy sins are forgiven". The key to the whole group of which the Penitent Harlot forms so characteristic a part, is this appeal to the Isaian prophecy of restoration.

Interpreters of the Blasphemy of the Scribes have failed to observe that it also responds to the same key. The deaf hear and the eyes of the blind see. The meek increase their joy in Jehovah, and the poor among men rejoice in the Holy One of Israel (Is. 29 18f.). These "sanctify the name of the Holy One of Jacob" (Is. 29 23); whereas "the scoffers, that cause men to stumble by their words, watching for iniquity, are cut off" (20f.). Thus Jehovah's Name is blasphemed continually (Is. 52 5). Such (in Isaian phrase) is the occasion of the Blasphemy of the Scribes, omitted by Mark, described in Mt. 12 22f. with combination of "blind and dumb", in Lk. 11 14 with mention of the "dumb" only, and the marvel of the

multitude, but with subsequent reference to the "lightening of the whole body" (verses 34f.). The scoffers, that "turn aside the just with a thing of nought", who were explicitly identified by the Nazarene Christians of Beroea with "the scribes",[2] oppose the work of the divine Wisdom among her "children" (Lk. 7 35 = Mt. 11 19). Jesus' reply to the charge "He casteth out by Beelzebub" is that the evil is spoken not against him personally, but against the "Spirit of God", and therefore on their own principles[3] is unpardonable.

This, however, is only the negative side of the argument, a turning back upon the scribes themselves of their charge of impiety. The affirmative argument is the more vital, and its echoes do not cease to ring for centuries after, in the doctrine of the Opening of the Prison-house. It is set forth in the Parable of the Strong Man Armed, which Mark incorporates, apparently in the sense that Jesus personally is the victor who makes spoil of Satan's goods. At least Mark includes nothing more from the source than enough to prove the power by which Jesus operates superior to that of the demons; just as in 2 1–12 he disregards the distinction between the present working of God, and the authority of the Son of Man. But if we include the affirmative argument of Q "But if it be by the Spirit (or "hand") of God that I am casting out demons, then His sovereignty has come upon you already", immediately the force of the parable becomes apparent. It is an adaptation of the Isaian prophecy of the restoration (followed a few paragraphs after by a reference to the blaspheming of Jehovah's Name [52 5]) and forms a logical continuation of the Answer to the Baptist. This was, in substance: "Stumble not at me; but see how Jehovah is fulfilling his promise of redemption". The Isaian passage underlying the parable of the Strong Man Bound is connected linguistically both with Is.

[2] So Jerome on Is. 29 18f., quoting Apollinarios of Laodicea.

[3] See Schechter, *Some Aspects*, p. 328f. on The Unforgiveable Sin. Five cases are enumerated, of which the last two are: "He who causes the multitude to sin", and "He who profanes the Name". With this compare Hermas, *Simil.* vi. No place of repentance is granted to those who "cause the Name to be blasphemed".

29 22f. ("He who redeemed Abraham", "sanctify the Holy One of Jacob", "stand in awe of the God of Israel") and with certain connected passages of Matthew. For Mk. 7 37 gives another version of the Exorcism of the Dumb, and is paralleled by Mt. 15 31: "The multitude marvelled beholding the dumb speaking, the lame walking, and the blind seeing, and they glorified *the God of Israel*". We may venture to place the prophecy side by side with the parable and its continuation in Mk. 7 31ff.

Is. 49 24ff. LXX.

Μὴ λήμψεταί τις παρὰ γίγαντος (var. δυνατοῦ) σκῦλα; καὶ ἐὰν αἰχμαλωτεύσῃ τις ἀδίκως, σωθήσεται; οὕτως λέγει Κύριος· ἐάν τις αἰχμαλωτεύσῃ γίγαντα, λήμψεται σκῦλα· λαμβάνων δὲ παρὰ ἰσχύοντος σωθήσεται. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν κρίσιν σου κρινῶ, καὶ ἐγὼ τοὺς υἱούς σου ῥύσομαι . . . καὶ αἰσθανθήσεται πᾶσα σάρξ ὅτι ἐγὼ Κύριος ὁ ῥυσάμενός σε καὶ ἀντιλαμβανόμενος ἰσχύος Ἰακώβ.

Mk. 3 27.

Οὐ δύναται οὐδεὶς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ εἰσελθὼν τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δήσῃ, καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει.

Mt. 15 31 = Mk. 7 37.

Ὥστε τὸν ὄχλον θαυμάσαι βλέποντας κωφοὺς λαλοῦντας καὶ χωλοὺς περιπατοῦντας καὶ τυφλοὺς βλέποντας· καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν Ἰσραήλ.

We cannot here follow up the later echoes of the parable in the Pauline combination of it with the triumph-song of Ps. 68 18, and the later bifurcation into the neo-mythologic doctrine of the Harrowing of Hell, and the Pauline-Johannine of the Conflict with the Prince of This World. Both forms seem to have their origin in the parable, which is invariably taken by the earliest interpreters to refer to the deliverance of Satan's captives, the souls of men, whether here on earth, as the Gnostics understood Paul (Irenaeus, *Haer.* V. xxi. 3 and xxxi. 2), or (as Irenaeus himself understood, less correctly) in the prison-house of Sheol. As far back as First Peter this Deliverance of the Spirits in Prison by the Spirit of God which worked through Jesus becomes a theme of Christian poetry. The explanation of it lies in Jesus' application of the Isaian promise of Deliverance from the Captivity of the Strong,

by the Mighty One of Israel. When he "by the Spirit of God" opens the blind eyes and unstops the deaf ears, so that the children of God's redeeming Wisdom begin to "sanctify the Name", the scoffers, that watch for iniquity and cause men to stumble in their pleadings (for justice) are cut off. The incoming of light and truth through his glad tidings mark a victory for the Mighty One of Jacob, of which the expulsion of the demons is only a token and sign. The Glad Tidings to the poor is sanctioned not alone by the lame walking and the blind seeing through the gracious power of God, but also by the "opening of the prison-house to them that were bound" (Lk. 4 18). The loosing of a daughter of Abraham "whom Satan had bound, lo, these eighteen years" (Lk. 13 16), the loosing of the many that were held under demonic control, was to Jesus a token that the dominion of God was already in the world, that the promised deliverance of the Mighty One of Jacob was at hand.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUNS IN ACTS AND ELSEWHERE

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THE relation of the indefinite relative to the simple relative pronoun in Greek has engaged the attention of many New Testament grammarians and there has been a general effort to show that the classical distinction between them is at least sometimes maintained by New Testament writers. The following full statement from Moulton, *Grammar of New Testament Greek,* I, p. 91f., indicates the maximum concession that is generally allowed to any theory of coalescence:

"Turning to the Relatives, we note the limiting of ὅστις, a conspicuous trait of the vernacular, where the nominative (with the neuter accusative) covers very nearly all the occurrences of the pronoun. The phrase ἕως ὅτου is the only exception in NT Greek. The obsolescence of the distinction between ὅς and ὅστις is asserted by Blass for Luke, but not for Paul. A type like Lk 2 4 εἰς πόλιν Δαυεὶδ ἥτις καλεῖται Βηθλεέμ, may be exactly paralleled from Herodotus (see Blass 173) and from papyri: so in an invitation formula αὔριον ἥτις ἐστὶν ῑε̄, "tomorrow, which is the 15th"—cf. Mt 27 62. Hort, on 1 Pet 2 11 (*Comm.* p. 133), allows that 'there are some places in the NT in which ὅστις cannot be distinguished from ὅς.' 'In most places, however, of the NT,' he proceeds, 'ὅστις apparently retains its strict classical force, either generic, "which, as other like things", or essential, "which by its very nature".' A large number of the exceptions, especially in Lucan writings, seem

to be by no means cases of *equivalence* between ὅς and ὅστις, whether agreeing or disagreeing with classical use. Some of them would have been expressed with ὅσπερ in Attic: thus in Acts 11 28 we seem to expect ἥπερ ἐγένετο. Others throw a subtle stress on the relative, which can be brought out by various paraphrases, as in Lk 1 20, 'which for all that.' Or ὅστις represents what in English would be expressed by a demonstrative and a conjunction, as in Lk 10 42, 'and it shall not be taken away.' In Mt we find ὅστις used four times at the beginning of a parable, where, though the principal figure is formally described as an individual, he is really a *type*, and ὅστις is therefore appropriate. We may refer to Blass 172, for examples of ὅς used for ὅστις, with indefinite reference. The large number of places in which ὅστις is obviously right, according to classical use, may fairly stand as proof that the distinction is not yet dead. We must not stay to trace the distinction further here, but may venture on the assertion that the two relatives are never absolutely convertible, however blurred may be the outlines of the classical distinction in Luke, and possibly in sporadic passages outside his writings. Kälker (*Quaest.* 245 f.) asserts that Polybius uses ὅστις for ὅς before words beginning with a vowel, for no more serious reason than the avoidance of hiatus; and it is curious that among twenty-three more or less unclassical examples in the Lucan books fourteen do happen to achieve this result. We chronicle this fact as in duty bound, but without suggesting any inclination to regard it as a key to our problem. If Kälker is right for Polybius—and there certainly seems weight in his remark that this substitution occurs just where the forms of ὅς end in a vowel—we may have to admit that the distinction during the Κοινή period had worn rather thin. It would be like the distinction between our relatives *who* and *that*, which in a considerable proportion of sentences are sufficiently convertible to be selected mostly according to our sense of rhythm or euphony: this, however, does not imply that the distinction is even blurred, much less lost."

No doubt many occurrences of ὅστις in the New Testament permit of reading into them a kind of generalizing force but there are other phenomena, quite apart from the subjective

evidence of subtle shades of meaning attributed to individual passages by the modern reader, which compel the conclusion that the indefinite relative is merely a synonymous substitute for the simpler form in many Κοινή writings. These lines of evidence are three:

1) The limitation of the forms used. Except for the stereotyped ἕως ὅτου only the nominative forms occur. This has always been noted but no reason can be given why the classical indefinite sense should be illustrated so exclusively in the nominative.

2) The large degree to which the corresponding forms of the simple relative have been ousted by the compound. This is more than a repetition of the previous point—for it means, for example, not only that ἥτις is comparatively frequent in these writings but that ἥ is comparatively rare. Why the proper sense of the simple relative should be less frequently illustrated for example in the feminine nominative singular than in the masculine singular or in the oblique cases of the feminine is a question that would be difficult to answer for those who wish to maintain even an occasional survival of the classical distinction.

3) It is sometimes possible to compare within a single author instances of the use of the two pronouns when the very similarity in thought and form between the parallels shows that the distinction is merely a matter of declension, if one may say so, rather than of sense.

For these reasons it is possible to assert the complete extinction in most New Testament writings (not to mention other examples of late Greek) of any difference between the two pronouns, except for cases when ὅστις, ὅ τι occurs without antecedent in the sense "whoever", "whatever".[1]

The book of Acts confirms this general conclusion. As Blass already suggested, the intermixture in Luke's writing is very complete. For that author the relatives had become a single pronoun declined as follows:

ὅς ἥτις ὅ	οἵτινες αἵτινες ἅ
οὗ ἧς etc.	ὧν etc.

The exceptions to this composite declension are few (in Acts

[1] Even here ὅς, ὅς ἄν etc., has become an alternative usage.

only four out of a total for both pronouns of about 200 occurrences):

ὅτου genitive occurs as well as *οὗ* in the phrase *ἕως ὅτου (οὗ)* in Luke 12 50; 13 8; 15 8 *v. l.*; 22 16; 22 18 *v. l.*

ὅστις in Luke 23 19.

ἥ in Luke 2 37; 10 39 *v. l.*, Acts 9 36.

οἵ in Luke 5 10 17 29; 6 17; 8 13 (*bis*); 9 27 31; 10 30; 13 30 (*bis*); 17 12; 20 47; 23 29; 24 23; Acts 1 11; 7 40; 10 45 *v. l.*; 28 10.

αἵ in Luke 8 2; 23 27 29.

These exceptions may many of them be explained on different grounds.

a) Two are doubtful readings

Luke 10 39 *ἡ καὶ παρακαθεσθεῖσα* (om. *ἥ* ℵ* L Ξ 579 boh)

Acts 10 45 *οἱ συνῆλθον* (*ὅσοι* all Greek MSS except B)

b) Some instances are probably due to Luke's sources

Luke 8 13[a] *οἱ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν*[2]	Mark 4 13 *οἳ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν*
Luke 20 47 *οἱ κατεσθίουσιν*	Mark 12 40 *οἱ* (article) *κατεσθίοντες*
Luke 23 19 *Βαραββᾶν ὅστις ἦν διὰ στάσιν τινὰ γενομένην ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ φόνον βληθεὶς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ*	Mark 15 8 *ἦν δὲ ὁ λεγόμενος Βαραββᾶς μετὰ τῶν στασιαστῶν δεδεμένος οἵτινες ἐν τῇ στάσει φόνον πεποιήκεισαν*
Acts 7 40 *οἱ προπορεύσονται ἡμῶν*	Exod. 32 1 = 32 23 (LXX) *οἱ προπορεύσονται ἡμῶν*

c) In some cases the simple pronoun is used to avoid repetition of similar forms of *τις* or *ὅστις*[3]

Luke 8 2 *αἱ ἦσαν τεθεραπευμέναι* (*γυναῖκές τινες* immediately precedes and the next verse has *ἕτεραι πολλαί, αἵτινες* κτλ.)

Luke 9 27 *εἰσίν τινες .... οἳ οὐ μὴ γεύσωνται θανάτου* (avoiding the repetition in Mark 9 1 *εἰσίν τινες .... οἵτινες οὐ μὴ γεύσωνται θανάτου*)

[2] So Luke 8 13*b* has *οἱ πρὸς καιρὸν πιστεύουσι* (no relative clause in Mark) but Luke 8 15 has *οἵτινες .... ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον* after Mark 4 20 *οἵτινες ἀκούουσιν τὸν λόγον*.

[3] In Luke 10 30 and 17 12 *οἱ* is preceded by *τις* and *τινα* respectively.

Luke 9 31 *οἳ ὀφθέντες ἐν δόξῃ ἔλεγον* (the preceding words are *οἵτινες ἦσαν Μωυσῆς καὶ Ἠλείας*

Luke 24 23 *οἳ λέγουσιν* (*τινες* occurs in verses 22 and 24)

Acts 9 36 *ἡ διερμηνευομένη λέγεται Δορκάς* (the antecedent is *τις μαθήτρια* and the last clause of verse 35 is *οἵτινες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον*).

Similarly in the following symmetrical clauses it may be supposed that rather than a repeated *οἵτινες* (*αἵτινες*) the simpler forms were preferred as suiting the gnomic form:

Luke 13 30 *εἰσὶν ἔσχατοι οἳ ἔσονται πρῶτοι καὶ εἰσὶν πρῶτοι οἳ ἔσονται ἔσχατοι*

Luke 23 29 *αἱ κοιλίαι αἳ οὐκ ἐγέννησαν καὶ μαστοὶ οἳ οὐκ ἔθρεψαν.*

d) In some cases a somewhat complicated antecedent may explain the use of the simpler relative:

Luke 5 29 *καὶ ἦν ὄχλος πολὺς τελωνῶν καὶ ἄλλων οἳ ἦσαν μετ' αὐτῶν κατακείμενοι*

Luke 6 17 *καὶ πλῆθος πολὺ τοῦ λαοῦ ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ τῆς παραλίου Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος, οἳ ἦλθον ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ*

Luke 23 27 *ἠκολούθει δὲ αὐτῷ πολὺ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν αἳ ἐκόπτοντο*

The Epistle to the Hebrews among the New Testament writings is generally the closest in style to Luke. Though the connection by relatives is frequent[4] there is only one exception to the general rule by which *ὅστις* supplies three nominative forms and *ὅς* all the rest. The exception is 11 33 *οἵ*.[5]

The equivalence of forms from both pronouns may be seen in such cases as:

Heb. 9 2 *σκηνὴ γὰρ κατεσκευάσθη ἡ πρώτη, ἐν ᾗ . . . . ἥτις*

Heb. 9 8 f. *τῆς πρώτης σκηνῆς . . . . ἥτις . . . . καθ' ἣν*

Heb. 13 7 *μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν, οἵτινες . . . ὧν*

Although Blass claims for Paul more fidelity to the classic distinction between the relatives than for Luke, his case is not well substantiated. There is for Paul practically a consistent

[4] A. Nairne, *Hebrews* in *The Cambridge Greek Testament*, p. lii.

[5] In view of *θυσίας . . αἵτινες* in Heb. 10 8 and 11 Hort's conjecture for 10 1 in place of *θυσίαις αἷς* or *ἅς* of the MSS. should have been *αἵτινες* rather than *αἵ*.

ixed declension identical with that indicated above except for ne neuter plural nominative, where *ἅτινα* seems to have nearly pplanted *ἅ*. According to Burton, *I. C. C. Galatians*, p. 257, the only certain instance of *ἅ* in nom. is Col. 2 22; in 1 Cor. 6 and Tit. 2 1 it was felt to be accus.; in Col. 2 17 the reading uncertain; in Eph. 5 4 it is possibly an accus.. but more probbly a nom." The nominatives will then be *ὅς, ἥτις, ὅ*; *οἵτινες, ἅτινες, ἅτινα*, and for Paul the only exceptions for this mixed rrangement are, in addition to possible instances of *ἅ* just entioned:

om. 16 7 *οἳ καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γέγοναν ἐν Χριστῷ*
hil. 2 20 *ὅστις γνησίως τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν μεριμνήσει*

In the former case the reading is uncertain: *οἵ* is not read 1 ℵ*D *et al.* If *οἵ* is original the form may be due to the desire o avoid repetition (cf. above, p. 153), since *οἵτινες* occurs in the receding clause modifying the same antecedent. Similarly the of Col. 2 22 is succeeded by *ἅτινα* in the next verse.

The equivalence in meaning and use of the two pronouns in aul is well illustrated by the list of greetings in Romans from hich one doubtful exception is derived:

om. 16 4ff. *οἵτινες .... οἷς .... ὅς .... ἥτις .... οἵτινες ... οἵ* (*v. l.*) *... ἥτις*[6]

r from parallels between Ephesians and Colossians:

ph. 1 22f. *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἥτις ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ*
ol. 1 24 *τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ὅ ἐστιν ἡ ἐκκλησία*
ph. 5 5 *πλεονέκτης, ὅς* (*v. l.* *ὅ*) *ἐστιν εἰδωλολάτρης*
ol. 3 5 *πλεονεξία, ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρία*

Compare also the parallels:

om. 4 16 *Ἀβραάμ, ὅς ἐστιν πατὴρ πάντων ἡμῶν*
al. 4 26f. *ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ . . ., ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν*

The evidence from these writers is confirmed by the general ough not absolutely uniform custom of the other books of the ew Testament. Two facts, the survival of certain nominative rms of the indefinite relative, and particularly the fact that ese forms have nearly driven out the corresponding forms of

[6] Blass however maintained even here that the exchange depended on hether a mere fact (*ὅς*) or a characteristic (*ὅστις*) was given.

the simple relative, seem to prove that there is not a differenc of meaning and that the almost uniform employment of certai parts of the indefinite relative forbids any argument based o its earlier use to express cause, characteristics or indefinit reference.[7]

What led to this development in Hellenistic Greek we ma of course only conjecture. The avoidance of hiatus is a natura suggestion since ἥτις, οἵτινες, αἵτινες are forms of the indefinit relative with a terminal consonant which would replace form of ὅς ending in a vowel. There is however little if any evidenc of intention to avoid hiatus by New Testament writers. If tha is the original intention or tendency the motive must have bee already forgotten.[8]

Another suggestion may be offered. The avoided forms o the simple relative are the only ones which agree in all bu accent with the corresponding forms of the article (i. e. ἡ οἱ, αἱ).[9] Especially where a participle followed in the nominativ the ambiguity of the short forms in unaccented text or in speec might be annoying.[10] In any case the presence of the compoun relative is due in the New Testament to an established tendenc of the language away from the forms ἥ, οἵ, αἵ (and, perhaps b

[7] See the effort to explain its occurrences in A. T. Robertson, *Gramma of Greek N. T.*, pp. 726—731, and the claim of at least occasional speci meaning in such English commentaries (to mention no others) as Ligh foot on 2 Thess. 1 9; Gal. 4 24; Phil. 1 28, 4 3; Westcott on Heb. 2 3; Fram on 2 Thess. 1 9; Charles on Rev. 2 24 *al.*

[8] As already mentioned by Moulton, F. Kälker, *Quaestiones de eloc tione Polybiana* in *Leipziger Studien* II (1880) ii. 245 ff. argued that ἥτ αἵτινες, and οἵτινες as well as ἥπερ etc., ἐπειδήπερ were used to avoid hiatu both by Polybius and (p. 311) by Diodorus Siculus. For Polybius Hultsc *Philologus* XIV. (1859), 288 ff., XV. (1860), 152 f. agrees. As for Moulton observation with regard to the Lucan writings that in some 23 unclassic occurrences of the indefinite relative 14 without it would have produce hiatus it may be answered that this is no evidence of an interest in th avoidance of hiatus since nearly half the words in the New Testamen begin with vowels. Thus of the 25 instances in Luke's writings of ἥ, and αἵ above, p. 153 some 15 are found to be followed by vowels.

[9] Contrast ὁ vs. ὅς, τά vs. ἅ.

[10] So Blass; note however that when Luke has retained οἵ with th analytical imperfect ἦσαν immediately follows the relative (Luke 5 17, 29; 8 2

analogy, from ἅ)—a tendency revealed in other writings not only by the frequency of ἥτις, οἵτινες, etc., but by the extensive use of the intensives ὅσπερ and ὃς καί and (in the plural) of ὅσοι.

ὅσπερ is not represented in the New Testament though it would have been very convenient for supplying the neuter forms which ὅ τι, ἅτινα did not satisfactorily provide. Of 109 instances of ὅσπερ in Josephus collected by H. Paur, *Observationes et notationes ad Flavii Josephi elocutionem*, p. 24, ὅπερ accounts for 48, ἅπερ for 31. The other compounds in -περ occur occasionally in the New Testament and seem to retain sometimes their literary flavor, e. g. Luke 1 1 ἐπειδήπερ. They are especially common in Hebrews.

ὅσοι and ὅσα occur frequently in the New Testament both where πάντες precedes and where no quantitative force seems to be implied.

ὃς καί appears also to be used in Hellenistic Greek in much the same way as ὅστις, ὅσπερ, ὃς δή, and without giving to the succeeding word the emphasis which καί is expected to convey. This appears especially in the neuter singular where neither ὅσον nor (on account of confusion with ὅτι) ὅ τι could be employed. Note in Acts:

11 30 ὃ καὶ ἐποίησαν
26 9 ὃ καὶ ἐποίησα.

Perhaps it is this idiom which accounts for the likeness of Gal. 2 10 to Acts 11 30 rather than the literary dependence which Plooij and others find (*Harvard Theological Review* XV (1922), 169). Similarly an unnecessary καί occurs after διό (= δι' ὅ), e. g. Luke 1 35; Acts 10 29; 24 26. Where the demonstrative and antecedent are included in the neuter relative of course the simple ὅ (or ἅ) is used (see Bruder's concordance, p. 621). Beside the neuter forms several instances of ἥ καί, οἳ καί, αἳ καί occur (Luke 10 39 *v. l.*; 23 27 *v. l.*; Acts 1 11; 28 10) as well as instances in the oblique cases. A further study of this colorless use of καί in relative clauses (which appears also in the papyri) would correct certain common errors of translation and interpretation in the New Testament.

THE NOMADIC IDEA AND IDEAL IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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INTRODUCTION

"IN the present lies the past; and in what is, what shall be." This significant quotation is taken from Professor Kuenen's *Religion of Israel* and is set down here as expressive of a truth that lies at the heart of the discussion which follows. It is equivalent to saying that in the history of a people no event or circumstance of any importance ever vanishes completely without leaving some trace, so that we cannot fully explain the life of a people within a given period without seeking the preparation for it in events which went before.

Conversely, when we consider the traditions of a people we must recognize the importance of taking into account also the succeeding history, in order that we may determine just how much of fact underlies the traditions. For the truth of the traditions is tested in large part by the marks which some of the events and circumstances described in them leave upon the history which follows.

Applying this test to the traditions and authentic history of the Hebrews, we may safely assert that the main claims of these traditions are not open to doubt. Their essential truth is attested by certain survivals in the later history of Israel.

The Old Testament traditions spring from two main sources, namely, Babylonian civilization and the early life of

the desert. Of these two, the former has been treated so fully by Old Testament scholars, and emphasized to such a degree by the so-called Pan-Babylonian School, as to obscure almost entirely the importance, even the very existence of the latter influence.

Now it cannot be denied that many elements in the life of Israel demand for their explanation Babylonian origin and influence. Even a cursory reading of the Old Testament shows this to be true. But if in contact with Babylonian civilization we recognize one taproot of Hebrew life, no less is it true that in the early nomadic life of the fathers of the Hebrew people we find another taproot. Not only is tradition consistent in claiming a nomadic origin for this people, but also unmistakable traces of that origin survive in the succeeding life of Israel. The nourishment which was furnished by this nomadic taproot has gone into the formation of certain characteristic traits which show themselves in all the later life and thought of Israel.

So complete a picture of nomadic life does the Old Testament give in its stories of the early Hebrews, and to such an extent has the desert survived in the life which followed, that had we no other sources of information concerning nomadic life, we should be able to reconstruct it from the Old Testament down to almost the last detail.

The history of the periods preceding the founding of the kingdom presents the free, independent life of liberty-loving nomads. The customs, institutions, social organization, religion, are all characteristic of this mode of life. In the stories of the patriarchs, the subjects discussed are tents and camels, flocks and herds, "sojourns" here and there.[1] The "sojourners" are compelled to buy a cave from the settled inhabitants of the land in which to bury their dead;[2] they build altars as they move about, and set up pillars in places where special events, of divine import to them, occur.[3] The stories

[1] Gen. 12 8-11; 13 33; 20 11; 21 23-24, etc.

[2] Gen. 23.

[3] Gen. 33 20; 35 1, 7, 14, 20, etc.

tell of the plundering of cities, in genuine Bedawi fashion, near which the nomads happen to encamp;[4] of disputes over wells, which are so necessary to this kind of people with their flocks and herds;[5] of famines, when the nomads must seek food by dwelling near a settled people until better times come;[6] of the simple and beautiful hospitality which is a feature of nomadic life;[7] of cattle-breeding on a large scale.[8] Prosperity and wealth are measured by the possession of flocks and herds and tents.[9] When Jacob comes to Egypt with his family, Joseph's brethren are known to the Pharaoh as shepherds.[10] The tradition of the fathers' mode of life is later summed up in the phrase "a wandering Aramaean was my father".[11]

As to the life after the deliverance from Egypt, the accounts in Exodus portray the essentially nomadic character. With flocks and herds they set out;[12] they travel in the desert where water is scarce;[13] they engage in an encounter with Amalek, a predatory tribe which resents intrusion upon its territory;[14] they stop at an oasis;[15] they encamp by Sinai, while their flocks range over the surrounding territory;[16] they build altars and erect pillars;[17] Moses, as a man of recognized ability, "judges", or gives oracles in cases of dispute and question;[18] when he goes up into the mount, he leaves this responsibility to the elders who are next best qualified.[19] These elders bear a striking resemblance to the sheikhs of the modern Bedawin.

The law given at Sinai, in its probable original form,[20] is suited to nomadic life. Even the worship established there,[21] with its ark, its holy objects, and many other features which characterized early Semitic religion, is just what we should

[4] Gen. 34 27f. [5] Gen. 21 25-30; 26 20-33, etc. [6] Gen. 26 and 42.
[7] Gen. 18 1-8. [8] Gen. 13 and 29-31; 37 12f., etc.
[9] Said of Abram in Gen. 12 16; 13 2, —of Lot, 13 5, —of Isaac, 26 14, —of Jacob, 30 43; 32 6; 46 6, —of Esau, 36 6, etc.
[10] Gen. 46 32, 34; 47 1-4. [11] Deut. 26 5. [12] Ex. 12 32, 38.
[13] Ex. 15 22; 17 1, 2. [14] Ex. 17 8-13. [15] Ex. 15 27.
[16] Ex. 18 5; 19 2; 34 3b. [17] Ex. 17 15; 24 4. [18] Ex. 18 13f.
[19] Ex. 24 14. [20] Cf. Driver, *Exodus*, pg. 415f. [21] Ex. 33 7f., *et al.*

expect to find in a nomadic society. More significant still, Yahweh, the God of Israel, is typically a God of the desert. He is thus first presented in His revelation of Himself to Moses.[22] This we gather also from His command to be worshipped in the desert.[23] The consciousness of His connection with the desert was never lost.[24] More will be said of this later, but it is quite clear that there always remained a distinct memory of Yahweh as being originally a nomads' God, and of the preservation of the nation by Him in the desert.[25] Indeed, the importance attached in the Old Testament to the sojourn in the desert arose from the consciousness that those tribes which brought Yahweh with them made the greatest contribution to the life of the people.[26]

The fact that the conquest of Canaan was effected by individual tribes taking possession of different districts shows that the tribal organization, peculiar to desert peoples, still prevailed in Israel.[27] The occupation of Canaan brought a transition to settled life, but the years passed in the desert still retained their power in molding the life of the people. Tribal consciousness was by no means wiped out when the Hebrews entered the new land, as is shown by many facts and circumstances which we shall have occasion to observe later. The very persistence of independence and tribal feeling threatened to undermine at many points the growing national organization. Many customs and conceptions which originated in the desert were carried over into settled life.

The religion of Israel cannot be appreciated fully without taking into account its nomadic elements. The work of Moses in laying the foundations of that religion, which was destined

[22] Ex. 3 3f.; 3 13; 6 2, 3b.

[23] Ex. 5 3; 9 1, as Moses presented the case to the Pharaoh.

[24] Cf. Deut. 32 10, "Yahweh found Israel in a desert", and cf. Jud. 5 4; I Ki. 19 8b.

[25] Cf. Deut. 1 19; 2 7; 11 5; 29 5, etc.; Amos 2 10, 11; Hos. 13 4, 5; Jer. 2 2, 6, etc.

[26] Cf. H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, pg. 75.

[27] Cf. L. B. Paton, art., "*Conquest of Canaan*", in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 36, pg. 1ff., and cf. Cornill, *Culture of Ancient Israel*, pg. 19ff.

in time to draw the scattered tribes together into a nation is of too great importance to be passed over lightly.

The prophets of the seventh and eighth centuries recognized the value of the best elements in that early religion to such an extent that they were led to honor the heritage of the desert and to remind the people constantly of that great formative period in the nation's historical and religious development. When the prophets sought for a standard whereby to gauge the apostasy of the nation, they found it in the pure and simple life and religion of the fathers. In the eyes of the prophets the time before the immigration into Canaan was the age of Israel's love to Yahweh, and the entrance into the cultivated land was the beginning of corruption.[28]

The prophets, who recognized that "in the present lies the past", while the rest of the nation ignored this truth and gave itself up exclusively to the present and its evils, took up the "nomadic idea", and carried it over into what we may call the "nomadic ideal". In our final chapter of this study we will go more fully into an explanation of this "ideal". Suffice it here to say that the nomadic ideal existed before the time of the prophets and was championed by a small minority within the nation, but it remained for these great leaders and preachers to transform and purify it.

The progress of our thought in the course of this study will be somewhat as follows: First we will observe the evidences in the Old Testament which prove the nomadic origin of the Hebrews. Four sections will, accordingly, be devoted to a consideration of the evidence in the Old Testament relating to the occupations, foods, clothing and dwellings of the early Hebrews, so far as these will help us to reconstruct the life of the people. Two sections will then be given to a study of the social life and organization and the religion of the time before the settlement in Canaan, thus completing our reconstruction of the life and society of the period in which we are interested. Occasion will be taken now and

[28] Cf. Amos 5 15; Hos. 9 10; 10 1; Jer. 2 2, etc.

then to point out survivals in later times of some of the institutions discussed. The final section will take a slightly different turn, dealing with the "nomadic ideal". Thus, we shall move along from nomadic origins to nomadic survivals, and finally to the nomadic ideal.

I. OCCUPATIONS

One of the methods of determining the stage of social development to which a primitive people had attained, is to consider the occupations in which it was engaged.

Our first concern, then, in determining the stage of culture of the early Hebrews, will be to gather from the Old Testament the evidence relating to their occupations.

Of hunting as an occupation practically nothing is said in the Old Testament. Aside from the mention of Esau as a hunter of venison, the few references to the killing of wild animals show this to have been carried on *only* as a measure of self-defense.[29] We may therefore conclude that hunting was no longer an occupation of this people in the earliest period decribed by the Old Testament.

As to fishing, an occupation of many primitive peoples, references are equally lacking in our early Hebrew sources. To anticipate a little, we may observe that amid the circumstances of desert life there would hardly be any opportunity for this pursuit.

The chief occupations ascribed to the Hebrews before their entrance into Canaan, are cattle-breeding, sheep-raising and pastoral pursuits, which most naturally fit in with nomadic life. The complete picture of the nomadic life of the Hebrew forefathers in the earlier stories of the Old Testament has already been referred to. This form of life is set forth almost as an ideal occupation, which fact, as Professor H. P. Smith observes: "is the more striking because the ideal of the Hebrew writers for themselves was agricultural".[30] Thus Jacob,

[29] Cf. Gen. 37 33; I Sam. 17 34; II Sam. 23 20, etc.

[30] *Religion of Israel*, pg. 12.

"the quiet man who dwelt in tents"[31] is preferred above Esau the rough and ready hunter. Likewise in the story of Cain and Abel,[32] at least in its probable original form, the nomadic life appears as more acceptable than the agricultural.[33]

The stories of these earliest Hebrews are very strongly nomadic. The chief interest is centered upon the increase of flocks and herds, the search for pasture-lands and wells of water, for the possession of which bitter struggles are frequently necessary. Wealth is reckoned on the basis of the possession of flocks and herds. Camels, sheep and cattle are often mentioned. Journeyings across desert spaces, sojourns in various places, and struggles with hostile tribes are often described.

At the time of the Exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt, their great leader, Moses, led his brethren back to the desert in the region of Sinai. The journey thither is described in terms of the desert, and when they arrived at the sacred mountain, "Israel encamped before the mount",[34] while the flocks and herds were not permitted to "feed before that mount",[35] but had to be pastured a little distance away. The life of the people during the sojourn at Sinai, and later at Kadesh, even in the fragmentary sources covering that period, is quite in keeping with what we should expect of a nomadic society. Even the religion of the people, as we shall see, was thoroughly adapted to this kind of existence.

It must be remarked here that while we are obliged to go back to the time before the so-called Mosaic period for specific references from which to reconstruct the nomadic life, this is mainly because the interest of our sources for the earlier period is chiefly in the *activities* of the people, while that of the Mosaic period is in their *religion* and *conduct.* But it cannot be doubted that, with a few differences, due perhaps to changed circumstances, the ordinary life of the people was much the same after as before the Exodus.

[31] Gen. 25 27.
[32] Gen. 4.
[33] Cf. Budde, *Urgeschichte*, Ch. VI.
[34] Ex. 19 2. [35] Ex. 34 3.

Flocks constituted the main possessions of the Hebrew nomads, and the care of these flocks formed their chief occupation. The word commonly used for "possessions"[36] applies to other purchasable property as well as to flocks and herds, but in the majority of cases in the Old Testament it is applied to the latter.[37] It is interesting and enlightening to note that this word is practically a synonym for "cattle",[38] a circumstance which indicates that possessions, according to the Hebrew mind, consisted originally of the property peculiar to the nomad.

Among the possessions, the chief item is *ṣō'n*, which includes small cattle, sheep, goats and also flocks and herds. These are generally named first among lists of the nomads' possessions.[39] Moses kept the *ṣō'n* of Jethro in Midian.[40] Likewise Job is represented as the possessor of seven thousand *ṣō'n*.[41] They are also mentioned as used in sacrifice.[42] The unit of *ṣō'n* is *sèh*.[43]

Along with *ṣō'n* are usually included *'izzîm* or goats, which judging from a reference in I Kings 20 27,[44] were kept in small flocks separate from the other animals. According to Jeremiah,[45] the he-goats (*'attûdh*, singular) were in turn used as leaders of the flocks.

The camel (*gāmāl*) is of course frequently named, as common property and beast of burden.[46] Job, who is clearly represented as a nomad, is said to be the possessor of three thousand camels. The hair of the camel, as well as the wool of the

[36] *miqneh*, from *qanāh*, to get or acquire.

[37] Gen. 4 20; 47 16, 17; Ex. 9 3; 10 26; Deut. 3 19; Job 1 3; Isa. 30 23, etc.

[38] Cf. B. D. B., *ad loc.*

[39] Cf. Gen. 12 16; 13 5; 26 14; 30 43; 32 6; 46 32, etc.

[40] Ex. 3 1.

[41] Job 1 3.

[42] Gen. 4 14; Num. 22 40, etc.

[43] Gen. 22 7, 8; 30 32; Ex. 13 13, etc.

[44] Cf. Gen. 30 32; Ex. 12 5.

[45] Jer. 50 8; cf. Isa. 14 9; Prov. 30 31, etc.

[46] Gen. 12 16; 24 10, 19 f.; 30 43; 32 8, etc.; cf. later mention of the camels of neighboring nomads, Amalekites and Midianites, in Jud. 6 5; 7 12; I Sam. 15 3; cf. Jer. 49 29.

sheep and the hair of the goat, were employed in the weaving of tentcovers and rough garments.[47]

Part of the care of sheep consisted in shearing them at a certain season of the year, and the occasion was marked by a festival to which guests were invited.[48]

In our older sources there is no mention of weaving and spinning, which must have been done by the women, as among modern Bedawin. Nor is there reference to any of the common and ordinary tasks which must have been carried on by the men around the camp, such as the making of utensils of wood or stone, the making of leather bags from the skins of animals, and so on. The Hebrew nomad, like the modern Bedawi, was not a worker, and whatever trivial tasks he might perform about the camp would hardly be worth recording.

Along with nomadic life came a certain rough and brutal aggressiveness which is apparent in the stories of the Hebrew tribes. There is a whole group of words that express the pillaging, plundering habits of these rude nomads. Indeed, the later historians and law-givers, looking back over the course of Yahweh's leading of their ancestors, glory in their primitive brutality. For example, Deuteronomy 33 26, 27: "There is none like unto the God of Jeshurun,—He thrust out the enemy before thee, and said, Exterminate!" Again, Numbers 23 24 expresses it thus: "Behold a people that riseth up as a lioness and lifts itself as a lion; he shall not lie down till he has devoured his prey, and until he has drunk the blood of his victims".

These indefatigable nomads went forward attacking, raiding, plundering, destroying "with the edge of the sword" and exercising the *ḥerem* against their enemies. Much of their time, at least at certain seasons of the year, must have been taken up with such encounters. They had to fight in order to maintain themselves in a land where food was not plentiful,

[47] Cf. below under "Clothing" and "Shelter".

[48] Gen. 31 19; 38 13; I Sam. 25 7, 11, 36; II Sam. 13 23; Deut. 15 19; cf. the figurative use made of this in Isa. 53 7.

nd where pastures and wells of water were prizes to be ained through victory over weaker tribes.

After the entrance of the Hebrew tribes into Canaan, here agricultural pursuits would be more possible than in he steppes or the desert, cattle-breeding and pastoral life were till carried on to some extent. The nomadic occupations ere naturally retained longer by the transjordanic tribes of Gad and Reuben[49] and by the tribes of Judah and Simeon[50] ecause of their location. David appears first as a shepherd,[51] nd later, mention is made of cattle-breeding carried on by im and other kings.[52] Nabal was a possessor of great herds,[53] nd the prophet Amos was a cattle-breeder from the district f Tekoa in Judah.[54]

When the Rechabites appear in the time of Jehu, re-ppearing in Jeremiah's day,[55] their nomadic character istinguishes them from those Israelites who have passed over o agricultural occupations, and indeed, we know that their urpose in clinging to this mode of life was to protest against ulture and progress toward civilization, and to keep up the ime-honored occupation of the fathers. Likewise the Kenites, noving northward from southern Judah, seem to represent his same tendency to preserve the customs of the fore-fathers nd their nomadic life.[56]

A further evidence of the nomadic life of the early Hebrews s to be seen in the survival of certain words and phrases hich betray a nomadic origin, and which are found in early all the books of the Old Testament. These originated n the very time when the fathers of Israel expressed them-elves in terms of daily life.

The nation is often referred to as a "flock", and as "sheep".[57] he leaders of the people are called "shepherds".[58] Another

[49] Num. 32 2 f.; 32 40; Deut. 3 15 f., etc. [50] I Chr. 4 24 ff. [51] I Sam. 16 11; 17 28 f.
[52] I Sam. 21 8; II Sam. 13 23; I Chr. 27 29 f.; II Chr. 26 10, etc.
[53] I Sam. 25 10. [54] Amos 1 1; 7 14. [55] II Ki. 10 15 f.; cf. Jer. 35 6 f.
[56] Cf. II Chr. 2 55, where the Rechabites are Kenites.
[57] I Ki. 20 27; Jer. 13 17, 20; 23 3; 31 10; Ezek. 34 11; 12 17, 22; Mic. 2 12; nd very frequently in the Psalms.
[58] II Sam. 5 2; 7 7; Jer. 23 2, 4; 50 6; Isa. 40 11; 44 28; Ezek. 34 2, 7 f.; ech. 10 2, 3, etc.

interesting figure is found in Exodus 15 15,[59] where *'áyil*, literally a "ram" as leader of a flock, is used figuratively for the chiefs of the people.

Again, Yahweh Himself, in the familiar Shepherd Psalm, is called the great and true shepherd of His people, and by implication the same figure is presented in such passages as Jeremiah 23 2 and Ezekiel 34 7 and others.

A study of the Psalms from this point of view discloses a wealth of such figurative words and phrases which grew out of the nomadic life of early Israel and were never lost from the language.

It is also important to note that in blessings and promises made to the people, both in early times and in the later life in Canaan, possessions of flocks and herds and increase of cattle are prominent considerations.[60]

The term *ṣō'n*, referred to above, is very often employed in similes for multitudes,[61] and is applied metaphorically in several places to the same effect.[62] This usage also occurs often in the Psalms.

II. FOODS

Our inquiry now leads us to a consideration of the foods upon which the early Israelites subsisted, as attested by the Old Testament references. Were we dealing with modern times or a modern people, it would manifestly be impossible to proceed upon the assumption that a study of this kind would furnish any indication of the people's stage of culture. For today, at least in civilized nations, transportation facilities and international trade and commerce draw food supplies from the ends of the earth. But with the early Israelites, the food of the people depended almost entirely upon environment and community effort, and thus witnesses to the mode of life and the stage of culture.

[59] Cf. Isa. 14 9.

[60] Cf. Deut. 7 14; 8 13; 28 4; Jer. 31 27; 33 12f.; Ezek. 36 11a, etc.

[61] Num. 27 17; I Ki. 22 17, etc.

[62] II Sam. 24 17; Isa. 63 11; Jer. 50 6, etc.

Concerning foods obtained by hunting, as concerning hunting itself as an occupation, the Old Testament offers us little definite information, except perhaps the mention of "venison" contained in the story of Esau, the hunter.[63] The word here used for "venison" (*ṣayidh*) is later employed in a loose sense to include provisions of food of various kinds,[64] or any game taken in the chase.[65]

While it is true that Samson's fame rested partly upon his prowess as a hunter of wild beasts,[66] there appears here no intimation of his having carried on hunting as a livelihood. The only food mentioned in the story is the honey obtained from the carcass of the lion which he slew in self-defense.

There are also two passages (Deuteronomy 22 6 and Isaiah 10 14), the former framed as a prohibition and the latter having a figurative meaning, which intimate that the eggs of wild fowl were sometimes sought for and eaten.

In Deuteronomy 32 13-14 we have an apparent attempt at naming, in their natural order, the different foods which the Israelites received from Yahweh in the successive stages of their national life. First come "increase of the hills"[67] and "honey from the crag", which are fair representatives of the foods of a hunting people, stalking their game upon the mountains, and securing their sweets from honey-combs found in the crags of the rocks; next come "butter of the herd and milk of the flock, with fat of lambs and rams and goats" which appear to be a more or less true description of the sustenance of nomads, whose food supply is obtained from their flocks and herds; and finally, there are the provisions of a settled agricultural people, who raise wheat and other grains, cultivate vineyards and make wine.

In accordance with such a general classification, we find among the earlier references in the Old Testament frequent

[63] Gen. 27.

[64] Cf. Josh. 9 5, 14; Job 38 41; Ps. 132 15, etc.

[65] Lev. 17 13; Prov. 12 27, etc. Compare the general usage of *ṣêdhāh* in Gen. 42 25; Ex. 12 39; Josh. 1 11; Jud. 7 8; I Sam. 22 10, etc.

[66] Jud. 14 6; 15 4.

[67] Cf. the reading of G. A. Smith, *Deuteronomy*, Cambridge Bible, pg. 348.

mention of foods derived from the flocks and herds and of other nomad fare. Among the more common of these are milk, butter, cheese and flesh or meat. Milk and butter especially have their regular place in the diet of nomads, and these formed part of the meal which Abraham is said to have set before his guests.[68] Milk seems to have been drunk rather than water, which had to be saved for the flocks. When Sisera demanded a drink of water from Jael, she "opened a skin of milk" for him.[69]

Milk (*ḥelebh*) was one of the most important sources of nourishment for the nomadic Israelites, as it is today for the modern Bedawin, since it was the chief food which their herds produced. Deuteronomy 32 14a intimates that it was obtained from large as well as small cattle. And, as has been said, the mention of "milch camels" in Genesis 32 15 suggests that it was also yielded by camels. Proverbs 27 27 adds goats' milk to the list.

The cream of milk, or perhaps the curds (*ḥem'āh*), (sometimes the same word is used for "cheese") is regarded as a staple food.[70] Job 10 10 gives us another word for cheese (*gebhînāh*).

The ideal picture of Canaan as a "land flowing with milk and honey" can hardly have been an ideal of the nomads themselves, for it is hard to conceive of nomads representing Utopia as a land in which the common fare of the desert is to be a special glory.[71]

Next to foods obtained as products of the flocks and herds, the nomad looked upon flesh or meat (*basar*) of animals as the most important food. It is generally admitted that sacrifice of animals was originally a meal of communion, in which the worshipper and the Deity were supposed to share; and that originally every meal of flesh was looked upon as

[68] Gen. 18 8.

[69] Cf. Jud. 4 19; 5 25.

[70] Gen. 18 8; Deut. 32 14; Jud. 5 25; I Sam. 17 18; Prov. 30 33.

[71] For the numerous O. T. passages in which this phrase occurs, see *Z. A. T. W.*, vol. 22, article by Stade, pg. 321f., in which the theory of a mythological origin of the expression is advanced, and evidence submitted that this phrase occurs in passages which may all be considered late.

such a sacrifice.[72] Such passages as Genesis 18 7, 8, Judges 6 19, 13 15 and others give evidence of the eating of the flesh of animals of the flocks.

The word *leḥem*, though commonly rendered "bread" and later understood as meaning nothing else, has in Old Testament usage a wide and general meaning. It is the common term for "food" or nourishment of man[73] or of animals.[74] At other times it has approximately the sense which the Arabic *laḥm* holds for the modern Bedawin, namely, "meat".[75] In later times, influenced by the fact that the people had passed over to agriculture, it was used in a limited sense to denote "bread" made of any grain.[76]

Besides these ordinary foods which the nomads obtained from their flocks and herds, there were others, chiefly spices, which were commonly procured through barter, either from settled peoples near which they happened to encamp, or from travelling caravans which passed their way. The principal of these was salt, which was always indispensable for rendering roasted and cooked foods palatable.[77]

In Ezra 4 14 we find a common Semitic idiom, "to eat a man's salt", which is equivalent to living with a man, or eating bread with him. Closely related to this is the "salt-covenant" mentioned in Numbers 18 19.[78] It is still a rule of the modern Arabs, that when one eats "bread and salt" with another, the two are thus bound in a lasting covenant with each other, a covenant which they dare not betray.[79]

This accounts perhaps for the law in Leviticus 2 13, where salt is required in all foods offered to Yahweh, thus recognizing

[72] Even I Sam. 2 13 f. shows this to be true.

[73] Jud. 13 16; II Sam. 9 7, etc.

[74] Job 24 5; Ps. 147 9, etc.

[75] Cf. Jud. 13 15-16, where it is equivalent to "kid" in v. 15. Cf. also Gen. 18 5, 7; Num. 28 24, etc.

[76] Gen. 27 17; Jud. 7 13; II Ki. 4 42; Ex. 29 2, etc.

[77] Job betrays the nomad's attitude towards unsalted food: "Can that which is unsavory be eaten without salt?" 6 6.

[78] Cf. II Chr. 13 5.

[79] Cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, vol. I, pg. 228, 254, etc., vol. II, pg. 249, 336, etc.

that an inviolable covenant is established between the worshipper and Yahweh.[80]

Among the spices obtained by barter may possibly have been coriander,[81] cummin,[82] and fitches, which seems to be a variety of black cummin. Our records do not specifically mention these as having been used by the early nomads, and it is possible that they came into use only after the people had settled in Canaan.

Unleavened bread, the "bread of the desert", was a food peculiar to the nomads. There were frequently times on their journeys when leaven was not to be had; and at such times, their bread was of necessity unleavened.[83] The law in Exodus 23 18a,[84] that sacrifices to Yahweh must not be offered with leavened bread, shows that unleavened bread "had the sanction of antiquity".[85]

The wheat and barley used for the making of bread by the nomads must either have been obtained by barter from settled peoples or caravan traders, or else raised in small quantities in fertile oases where it was possible for them to carry on slight cultivation while they halted between planting- and harvest-time.

For roasting, cooking and baking their foods, the nomads doubtless used hot stones places in an oven fashioned by making a hole in the ground, just as the modern Bedawin are in the habit of doing.[86] Of such details not much can be said for certain, for like most records of the past, the Old Testament often fails to give precise details of those things which were so common-place as to seem unworthy of mention.

It is possible, to a certain extent, to ascertain the foods of the early Israelites by a consideration of the foods which

[80] Cf. Num. 18 19; II Chr. 13 5. [81] Ex. 16 31; Num. 11 7. [82] Isa. 28 25

[83] Cf. Benzinger, *Archäologie*, pg. 64, "Bedouin eat mostly unleavened bread".

[84] Cf. Driver, *Exodus*, Cambridge Bible, pg. 245.

[85] Cf. article on "Leaven" in *E. B.*, vol. II, col. 2752, by Kennedy "The use of leaven being a later refinement in the preparation of bread it may be regarded as certain that offerings of bread to the Deity were from the first unleavened".

[86] Cf. Doughty, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pg. 7, 86.

they offered to Yahweh, for it was the habit of primitive peoples to sacrifice to the Deity the foods which they themselves ate, and to prepare them preferably in the same manner in which they were prepared for human consumption. A late example of this may be seen in Leviticus 2 14, where the corn offered was roasted in the ear, in the same manner in which it was prepared for eating. The tradition of Cain's and Abel's offerings testifies to this practice; "Abel brought a firstling of the flock", while "Cain brought of the fruit of the ground". In this connection it is also interesting to note that among the Israelites, unlike other Semites, only domestic animals were sacrificed, and of these only those which were ritually clean and might be eaten by the people themselves.

III. CLOTHING

After setting his hands to a definite occupation and obtaining from this his daily sustenance, the next logical step in man's development was probably the protection of his body against heat and cold. In dress we see exhibited a greater and more enduring subserviency to custom than in any other department of life. While it is true that climate, economic development and the influence of surrounding peoples with different customs play a great part in modifying styles of clothing, older garments still survive, even though these be worn in later times as under-garments, while the newer clothes do service as outer garments.

According to Genesis 3 7, Adam and Eve in their state of pristine innocence were naked. The Israelites' conception of the origin of clothing is found in Genesis 3 21, "And Yahweh made for the man and his wife coats of skins and clothed them". Even before this statement comes the mention (Genesis 3 7) of the "apron" of fig-leaves (*ḥagôr*), or more properly perhaps, the "loin-cloth" or "girdle" which was always remembered as a primitive garment.

The names of these most primitive garments or girdles are *'ēzôr*, *ḥagôr*, and *śaq*, which are derived from the respective verbs, *'āzar*, *ḥāgar*, and *śāqaq*. The first of these appears to

be the most primitive, and signifies always a thing worn next to the skin.[87] This loin-cloth might be either of leather[88] or of linen.[89] In the later figurative use of this word *'ēzôr* we see perhaps a memory of the nature of the thing itself.[90]

It is difficult to distinguish between the exact nature of the *'ēzôr* and the *ḥagôr*, for there are passages which seem to confuse the two.[91] Broadly speaking, the *ḥagôr* appears to have been a sort of girdle or belt worn *outside* the dress, and in conformity with this usage warriors are said to wear it as a sword-belt.[92]

In two passages,[93] figurative use is made of the words *ḥāgar* and *'āzar*, in the Proverbs passage somewhat similarly to the usage in Isaiah 45 5 mentioned above, while in Psalms the figure is employed very broadly.

In general the verb *ḥāgar* was used in the literal sense of wearing a garment,[94] or putting on armor by a warrior.[95] This same verb is the one commonly applied to putting on of sack-cloth.[96]

Śaq is the only term used to denote the loin-cloth of hairy substance, presumably of goats' or camels' hair, which was worn next to the skin, with or without any other garment over it, as a sign of mourning. There is but one place in which we find specific mention of an outer garment worn over the *śaq*, in II Kings 6 30, but there is reason for the apparent

[87] II Ki. 1 8; Isa. 11 5; Jer. 13 1, 11; Ezek. 23 15; Job 12 18, etc. Cf. article "GIRDLE", by G. A. Cook, in *E. B.*, col. 1734, and by W. R. Smith, in *Jewish Quarterly* of Jan. 1892, pg. 289ff. Cf. also Dozy's *Dict. de Vêtements*, where reference is made to a modern derivative *mi'zar* which means "drawers".

[88] II Ki. 1 8. [89] Jer. 13 1.

[90] Cf. Isa. 45 5 where it passes over into the idea of "strengthen" or "encourage", and Jer. 13 11 where it supplies a figure for the closeness of attachment between Yahweh and Israel. Cf. also I Sam. 24; II Sam. 22 40; Ps. 65 7; Job 38 3; 40 7, etc.

[91] Gen. 3 7; Isa. 32 11; Ezek. 23 15. [92] II Sam. 20 8; II Ki. 3 29.

[93] Prov. 31 17; Ps. 65 13.

[94] Ex. 29 9; II Sam. 20 8; II Ki. 4 29, etc.

[95] I Sam. 17 39; 25 13; I Ki. 3 21; Ps. 45 4, etc.

[96] II Sam. 3 31; I Ki. 20 32; Isa. 15 3; 22 12; Jer. 4 8; Ezek. 27 31; Joel 1 8, 13, etc.

exception. Whether, as some commentators maintain, the *śaq* was the primitive loin-cloth worn by the ancient Israelites; or whether the original loin-cloth was known as the *'ēzôr*, the *śaq* coming later as a mourning garb, must remain an open question. This much is certain, that the latter term is the only one applied to the loin-cloth used in time of mourning; and commentators are almost unanimous in declaring that the reason for this use is the return to the simplicity of olden times.[97]

Another tendency to conserve primitive dress in religion is shown in the fact of Elijah's wearing a garment, or a "girdle", or kilt of skin,[98] which, according to W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 438, note 1, is "related to the primitive custom of dressing in the sacrificial skin of animals sacrificed, which when it ceased to be used in ordinary life, was still retained in holy functions". Similar to this is the case of Samuel, "girded with a linen ephod",[99] that of David,[100] as well as Saul.[101]

In process of time there developed from the loin-cloth an undergarment known as the *kuttōneth*, worn next to the person.[102] It seems to have had many forms, sometimes having a collar, and thus being a sort of undershirt,[103] and again being a tunic with long skirts and sleeves.[104] In time it came to be an embroidered tunic worn by the priests.[105] This later usage of the *kuttōneth* appears to be another case of survival in religious functions of a primitive garment, parallel to that of the *śaq* in mourning.

As an outer garment, the *śimlāh* appears to have been the most common. It is defined by *B. D. B.* as a "square piece of cloth worn as an outer garment".[106] The later usage of the term *śimlāh* was quite broad, since it was applied to clothing in general,[107] but originally it seems to have been a mantle

[97] Cf. Nowack, *Archäologie*, vol. I, pg. 120 and Benzinger, *Archäologie*, pg. 73.

[98] II Ki. 1 8. [99] I Sam. 2 18. [100] II Sam. 6 14.

[101] I Sam. 19 24. Cf. Driver's *Notes on Samuel*, pg. 160.

[102] Gen. 3 21; II Sam. 15 32, etc. [103] Job 30 18.

[104] Gen. 37 3f.; II Sam. 13 18, etc. [105] Ex. 16 4; Lev. 8 7, 13; 16 4, etc.

[106] Cf. Benzinger, *op. cit.*, pg. 76, and Nowack, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pg. 122, 124.

[107] Gen. 37 34; 41 14; Ex. 19 10, etc.

thrown over the *kuttōneth*. Benzinger[108] makes it the equivalent of the modern Bedawi *'abâye*, which serves as a protection from rain and cold and is used at night as a bed and cover, its ample folds being convenient to carry everything imaginable that is needed on a journey.[109] Psalm 104 2 gives us a beautiful figurative usage of the term.

A general term for clothing of all sorts is seen in the word *begedh*; as *B. D. B.* puts it, it was a term used for clothing of any kind, "from the filthy clothing of the leper to the holy robe of the priest, from the simplest covering for the poor to the costly raiment of the rich and noble." It is mentioned in nearly every book of the Old Testament, and thus seems always to have had a general meaning, somewhat like our word "things" as applied to articles of apparel. With it goes the word *lᵉbûsh*, also a general term found in all Semitic languages, but not employed in the Old Testament as frequently as *begedh*.

The continued usage of the foregoing words from the earliest to the latest Old Testament times, the developing significations that they came to carry as time went on, in comparison with the root meanings of these words, and the primitive usages of the things for which the words stood, show that in spite of changes of climate, environment and improved economic conditions, the Israelites clung to conservatism in dress, especially in religious customs. If this appear to be claiming too much, we may at least state, that from the nomadic forms of dress, as worn for the most part still by the modern Bedawin, the chief garments of the Old Testament were developed.

Little is given us in the records concerning head-dress; and this is natural, since a head-covering is not so indispensable as a body-covering, even for a desert people, and consequently would not be considered an important article of dress. The one place where mention is found of head-dress is I Kings 20 31, where "ropes" (*ḥăbhālîm*) are spoken of in connection with *śaq*, the mourning dress. This curious juxtaposition seems to imply that the wearing of such a fillet was

[108] *Op. cit.*, pg. 77.

[109] Cf. Ex. 12 34; 22 26; Deut. 24 13; Jud. 8 25; I Sam. 21 10, etc.

a survival from olden times employed in mourning, just as the *śaq* was a survival. Benzinger[110] assumes that the Israelites must have worn a head covering similar to the *keffîye* of the modern Bedawin; this is a square cloth folded diagonally and thrown over the head, sometimes secured by a ring of cord placed over it on the head. The post-exilic *ṣānîf* may have been a development of this,[111] and possibly the "head-tires" of Exodus 29 9 are related to it.

As to the care of the hair, the modern Bedawi pride in wearing the hair and beard long probably bears a relation to the earlier Israelite custom, for there are intimations in the Old Testament that long hair and beard were counted as marks of manhood. The permanent Nazirite vow (as distinguished from the temporary vow) never to let a razor come upon the head, is rooted manifestly in a desire to preserve an old custom of desert life.[112]

Some sort of foot-wear must have been necessary to people who lived in the desert, though the simplicity of primitive peoples might lead us to suppose that they did not use any covering for their feet. Doubtless very early men felt the need of protecting their feet from the heat of sands and rocks and from the sharpness of stones. The Old Testament takes it for granted that from the first sandals were worn upon the feet.[113] From several references[114] we learn that in worship shoes were removed, and the priests seem also to have been required to perform their service barefooted.[115] There are no passages directly referring to this matter, but we may infer

[110] *Op. cit.*, pg. 80.

[111] Cf. Job 29 14.

[112] Jud. 13 5; I Sam. 1 11. Cf. also Lev. 19 27; 21 5, where priests are forbidden to trim hair or beards. Here appears again an example of primitive custom becoming associated with religion in a later time.

[113] T. K. Cheyne, in *E. B.*, col. 4491, suggests that "from our knowledge of the earliest Hebrews we may suspect that they, at first, were unaccustomed to wear shoes save in travelling". Cf. Ex. 12 11; Deut. 29 5; Josh. 9 5, 13.

[114] Notably Ex. 3 5; Josh. 5 15.

[115] Both Benzinger, *op. cit.*, pg. 81, and Nowack, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pg. 125 and vol. II, pg. 117, declare this to be true, but they do not substantiate their claim with any Old Testament references.

from such allusions as Exodus 3 5 and 29 20 that this was so. The complete silence of the Levitical law on the matter of the priests' shoes seems to indicate that it was taken for granted that he was to be barefoot while performing his offices. The putting-off of shoes was also a custom in time of mourning.[116]

We may safely assert that the last three customs named above (shoes removed in worship, and by priests when functioning, and in mourning) are all survivals of primitive simplicity of dress, and demonstrate again the operation of conservatism in religious custom, which maintains old customs long after their significance has been forgotten. We may therefore classify these customs as "nomadic survivals".[117]

IV. SHELTER

The dwellings in which a people finds its shelter furnish another indication of the nature of the life that they lived. If the early Hebrews were nomads, we should naturally suppose that they lived in tents, and in our search for evidence in the Old Testament we are not left in doubt on this point.

Of the most primitive dwellings of man, such as caves and clefts of rocks, the Old Testament gives us no word. These were used by the Hebrews only as places of refuge[118] and as burial places.[119] Only one instance is given, that of Elijah, of a cave used as a lodging.[120] More simple still is the "lodging" of Jacob at Bethel, where he is represented as sleeping out in the open, on the ground; but this is only a

[116] Cf. II Sam. 15 30; Ezek. 24 17, 23.

[117] W. M. Thomson, in *The Land and the Book*, vol. I, pg. 173, supposes that the removing of shoes in worship arose from the earlier practice of dropping shoes at the door of a house or tent when paying visits, simply as a matter of convenience and comfort. He suggests, therefore, that the first step was to extend the custom to every place entitled to respect, leading finally to the idea of defilement from the shoe. This sounds reasonable, but our supposition that this custom is a "nomadic survival" does not therefore forfeit its plausibility.

[118] Jud. 6 2; I Sam. 13 6; 14 11; 24 4, etc. [119] Gen. 23 19.

[120] I Ki. 19 9.

rare case and cannot be pressed. We may note, however, that the word employed here, *lûn*, meaning "to pass the night", is afterward used in connection with temporary shelters and inns, and in Jeremiah[121] we have a figurative usage of the same word, applied with picturesque effect.[122]

As has been stated[123] the stories of the patriarchs abound in references to tent-dwellings.[124]

Certain terms, like *nāsaʿ*, "to pull up stakes", and *nāṭāh*, "to spread or pitch" a tent, words closely associated with nomadic life, come before us very often in the earlier Old Testament stories, and later these same words carry wider meanings which still retain a relation to their original import.[125]

Similarly, *pēthaḥ*, which later came to mean a door or entrance of any kind, originally stood simply for the opening of the nomad's tent.[126]

There is no direct reference to tent-poles and cords in the earlier portions of the Old Testament, the only places in which the latter are mentioned being Exodus 35 18, 39 40, Numbers 3 26, 4 26, 32, where the cords of the Tabernacle are described. In Isaiah 33 20, 54 2 and Jeremiah 10 20 figurative usages of the word are found. Tent-pegs are likewise referred to in connection with the Tabernacle in Exodus 27 19, 35 18, Numbers 3 37, 4 32 and others.[127]

We know from history that the Kenites, who had been allies of Israel and had shared the desert experiences, went back to the desert at the time when Israel was entering

[121] Jer. 14 8. [122] Cf. Isa. 1 21. [123] Introduction.

[124] Gen. 13 3; 26 25; 33 19, etc. It may be observed in passing that the term ʾōhel occurs in the O. T. one hundred thirty-six times specifically with the meaning "tent-dwelling", and one hundred fifty-nine times in the sense of "tabernacle" or one special tent regarded as the dwelling-place of Deity.

[125] For *nāsaʿ*, cf. Gen. 33 17; 35 5; Num. 12 15; Jud. 16 3; II Ki. 3 27, etc., and for *nāṭāh*, cf. Gen. 12 8; 26 25; Jud. 4 11, and the interesting cases in Jer. 10 2 and Isa. 40 22, where it is applied to the heavens, conceived as "spread out" like a tent.

[126] Cf. Gen. 18 1, 2, 10; Ex. 33 8–10, etc. Cf. *B. D. B.* on this word.

[127] Cf. Jud. 4 21; 5 26; 16 14. Such passages as Isa. 22 23; 33 20; 54 2; Ezek. 15 3; Zech. 10 4; Ezra 9 8, etc. show figurative application of this term.

Canaan.[128] Some of the east Jordan tribes also continued to be tent-dwellers in the steppes and on the borders of the cultivated land.[129]

Down to a late date, when the rest of Israel had long ceased to dwell in tents, the Rechabites still lived in tents, believing that they were remaining true to pure Yahwism by keeping up the very mode of life of the fathers.[130]

Besides the numerous references to tents as the actual dwellings of the early Hebrews, and the survivals of this mode of life among some of the Hebrew population in Canaan after the conquest, there survive many expressions which without doubt originated in the nomadic times. Such for example is the phrase *hālak lᵉʾohᵒlô*, "to go to one's tent" or to go home, which is found in use at a time long after the Hebrews ceased to dwell in tents.[131] Likewise, as has been noted above, the phrase "to your tents, O Israel", which is equivalent to saying: "resume your old tribal independence", is still used in the period of the early kingdom.[132]

Figurative uses of "tent" and of the things connected with it, are so numerous throughout the Old Testament as to be familiar to the reader.[133] In Lamentations 2 4 Jerusalem is referred to as "the tent of the daughter of Zion".

A marriage custom which is still maintained, in which the tent plays a conspicuous part, is alluded to in II Samuel 16 22.[134] It is no doubt a survival from nomadic times.

The tent-sanctuary, known as the "tent of meeting",[135] which tradition makes Moses set up at Sinai, is just the kind of sanctuary suitable to nomadic life. It is named very often in the stories of the Mosaic period,[136] and still persisted for a long time after the settlement in Canaan and the beginning

[128] Cf. Jud. 1 16; 4 11, 17; I Sam. 15 6.
[129] Ex. 32 1f.; Jud. 5 16; I Sam. 25 2f.; II Ki. 3 4; Amos 1 1, etc.
[130] Jer. 35 6.
[131] Josh. 22 4f.; Jud. 7 8; 19 9; I Ki. 12 16, etc.
[132] II Sam. 20 1; I Ki. 12 16; *et. al.*
[133] Cf. Isa. 16 5; 33 20; 38 12; Jer. 10 20; Job 4 21; 30 11, etc.
[134] Cf. Ps. 19 6 and also W.R.Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, n. e., pg. 199.
[135] Cf. Section on "Religion".
[136] Ex. 33 7–11; Num. 11 16; 12 4; Deut. 21 14, etc.

of the kingdom. The *D* writer makes no mention of such a tent-sanctuary, but in *P* it is an elaborate structure designated by three terms which by the time of *P* had become more or less technical: *'ōhel*, *'ōhel mô'ēdh* and *'ōhel hā'ēdûth*.[137]

A concrete instance of the survival of this tent, altered somewhat to be sure, but still a reminder of the primitive Mosaic religion, is found in its presence at Gibeon.[138] A tent-sanctuary was erected by David on Mount Zion.[139] Joab is said to have fled for safety to the "tent of Yahweh",[140] and the oil for the anointing of Solomon was brought from "the tent".[141] This tent was taken up into the temple by Solomon.[142]

It remains for us to examine some of the evidence given in the Old Testament regarding the arrangement and equipment of tents, in order to get a more complete view of the tent life of the early Hebrews.

First of all comes the arrangement of tents in encampments. The encampment itself is called *ṭîrāh*.[143] In this word there is the suggestion of "surrounding, enclosing", and it thus gives a picture of a circle of tents, enclosing an open place in the center, and forming a sort of movable hamlet.[144]

Another word employed for "camp" or encampment is *maḥănēh* (from *ḥānāh*) in which we have the idea of "inclining to" or "the goal of a day's march",[145] thus giving a distinct nomadic flavor.[146] This term came in time to be applied strictly to a military camp, presumably because such moving encampments suggested the roving of the nomads.[147]

The tents were made, as are the Bedawi tents today, of

[137] Cf. Num. 9 15; 17 4; Ex. 25–31 *passim*, etc.

[138] II Chr. 1 3, 6, 13. [139] II Sam. 6 17; I Chr. 15 1, etc.

[140] I Ki. 2 28–30. [141] I Ki. 1 39.

[142] I Ki. 8 4; cf. II Sam. 7 6; I Chr. 17 5; Ps. 15 1; 27 5; 61 5, etc.

[143] Cf. *B. D. B.*

[144] Cf. the mention of *ḥāṣār* in Gen. 25 16, which occurs also in compounds of town-names, cf. Num. 34 4, 9; Josh. 15 27; 19 5, etc. and Num. 31 10; Ezek. 25 4, and poetic use of the word in Ps. 69 26 for "habitations".

[145] Cf. *B. D. B.*, *ad loc.*

[146] Gen. 26 17; 32 22; Ex. 13 20; 16 13; 32 26, etc.

[147] Josh. 6 11; 8 13; I Sam. 17 1, 46, etc.

"the mingled wool of sheep and camels' hair and goats' hair".[148] The black appearance of such material accounts for the expression found in Cant. 1 5, "black as the tents of Kedar".[149] The weaving of these tent coverings was most likely done by the women.[150]

The tent was generally divided into two compartments, the second of which was for the women and children and was called *ḥedher*.[151] It seems that sometimes a separate tent was pitched for the women.[152] The women's quarters were ordinarily closed to men, and as Judges 4 17f. shows, only a fugitive might find refuge there.[153]

The camel furniture and other incidentals, as Benzinger surmises,[154] were stored in the women's part of the tent.[155]

The men's apartment, on the other hand, contained the hearth which was an open fire in the middle of the tent, often merely a hole in the ground with stones leaned against each other. The Old Testament word for hearth is *môqēdh*, from *yākadh*, "to be kindled", hence a "burning mass". A figurative use of the word is seen in Psalm 102 4 and Isaiah 33 14, and the special usage in Leviticus 6 2 is a technical term, standing for the altar-hearth, literally "the place of burning".

The tent furniture and utensils of the nomads must necessarily have been few and simple and easily transportable. This fact, coupled with the usual omission of mention of common and obvious things of everyday life, probably explains why so few references to such subjects are found in the Old Testament. There is enough material at hand, however, to enable us to sketch briefly the usual furnishings of the tents of the Hebrew nomads.

[148] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, vol. I, pg. 225.

[149] Cf. Benzinger, *op. cit.*, pg. 88, and Nowack, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pg. 136.

[150] Cf. II Ki. 23 7.

[151] Cf. perhaps Arabic *ḥidr*, women's quarters, and also cf. references in Jud. 15 1; Cant. 3 4.

[152] Gen. 24 67; 31 33, the latter passage suggesting also a third tent for the servants.

[153] But see G. F. Moore's *Judges*, where this is denied. [154] *Op. cit.*, pg. 90.

[155] Cf. Gen. 27 15; 31 34, etc., the latter passage making mention of the camel's saddle, *kar*; cf. *B. D. B.*, *ad. loc.*

The floor was doubtless partially covered with straw or reed mats upon which one could sit or lie. Possibly we have the name of this kind of mat in the *semîkāh* of Judges 4 18, though some have conjectured that this word stands for a mantle or robe used as a cover.

Upon the floor also was a skin or leather mat which served as a table, called a *shulḥān*.[156] This word is generally regarded as derived from *shālaḥ*, to "strip off" a skin, and the *shulḥān* is thus supposed to have been originally like the *sufra* used by the Bedawin today. This *sufra* is a round piece of skin or hide with a string run through its edge which could be drawn, thus forming a bag to hold the provisions for subsequent meals.

Vessels of skin or leather are mentioned frequently, and we are led to suppose that the Hebrews used such vessels much as the modern Bedawin do, to hold both grain and liquids, to churn butter and to carry water.[157] The general term for "vessel", which is used also very broadly to designate anything that is made and used, is *k*ᵉ*lî*.[158] *Dôdh* is another term which stands for a primitive vessel of some sort.[159]

Besides these vessels were the kneading-troughs,[160] the hand-mill (*rēḥayim*),[161] the lamp (*nēr*),[162] and other necessary utensils made of wood, metal or leather. Earthenware and clay vessels, though they may have been used, were probably too perishable to be of much value to nomads.

V. SOCIAL LIFE AND ORGANIZATION

In considering the social life and organization of the early Hebrews we find a wealth of material in the Old Testament

[156] Cf. *B. D. B. ad. loc.*, and also Kennedy in *E. B.*, vol. III, col. 2991, sect. 3; also G. F. Moore's *Judges*, pg. 19. [157] Cf. Jud. 4 19; I Sam. 16 20, etc.

[158] For special use as "vessel" cf. Gen. 43 11; I Sam. 9 7; 17 40, etc.

[159] Cf. I Sam. 2 14; II Ki. 10 7; Jer. 24 2, etc.

[160] Ex. 12 34. [161] Ex. 11 5; Num. 11 8.

[162] Ex. 27 20, *et al.;* this word is used figuratively in such passages as Job 18 6; Prov. 13 9; 20 20. In the last-named passage there seems to be a reference to the nomads' custom of keeping a lamp burning always, both for convenience in keeping fire and as a measure of safety. Cf. Doughty, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pg. 8.

to confirm the view that the forefathers of Israel were nomads. We do not need to confine ourselves in this study to the patriarchal period, though it is true that the origins of what we find in the succeeding periods lie back in the time of the patriarchs.

First of all, we are confronted in the earlier stories in the Old Testament with a people under tribal organization. The patriarchal stories, with perhaps one or two exceptions, represent tribal history, and the genealogies with which they are interwoven are tribal traditions cast into the form of personal narratives. The names of most of the patriarchs and their wives are names of tribes, and their marriages and births are alliances and combinations of tribes, and subdivisions of larger tribes into clans.

Such tribal organization is one of the marks of nomadic life, being well-nigh impossible in a settled society. Yet the persistence of this form of organization for a long time after the conquest shows how powerful and enduring an influence desert life had upon Israel. The bond which had held each separate tribe together had been religion, conceived as resting primarily upon a common esteem for the same ancestor (often there stood at the center of the tribal life the grave of an ancestor, as is indicated in Genesis 25 10-11; 35 20; Joshua 24 32, and other passages). Subsequently, the bond of religion, conceived in a higher sense as worship of the same God Yahweh, served to unite the tribes into a nation. This amalgamation of the tribes began with the founding of the Yahweh religion under Moses, but it was not until after the settlement in Canaan that a more advanced and permanent organization was attempted, when such appeared necessary if the Hebrew "tribes" were to become the "nation" of Israel.

It is hardly necessary to enter here into an exhaustive treatment of tribal organization in order to establish the fact that nomadic life went before the settlement in Canaan. Only a few outstanding features of this kind of organization need to be noted.

One of the most distinctive features of tribal life, often mentioned in the Old Testament, vestiges of which still remain

in the early period of the kingdom, is the law of blood-revenge. It is impossible to ascribe the origin of this institution to a settled people, but it lies at the very basis of the tribal system of nomads. The principle behind it is that the killing of any member of a tribe or clan must be atoned for by the life of any member of the tribe or clan to which the slayer belongs. "*Our* blood has been spilled" is the way in which the clan expressed its attitude toward the killing of any of its members by one outside the clan. According to Burckhardt,[163] the "self-acting law of blood-revenge" was a "salutary institution which has done more than anything else to preserve the Bedouin tribes from mutual extermination", since "the certainty of retaliation acted as a check upon the warlike tribesmen".[164]

In the Old Testament we find this unwritten law at the basis of many passages, one of the earliest of which is Genesis 4 23-24, the Song of Lamech. Examples of it may also be seen in Judges 8 18-21, II Samuel 2 18-23, 3 27, 30, 14 7a, 11, I Kings 2 28f., and others. Even Deuteronomy recognizes it in Deuteronomy 19, 6, 12, and the Priestly Code[165] speaks of an altered form of it as practiced after the settlement in Canaan. It is to be noted, however, that in the latter cases, a distinction is made between accidental and intentional killing.

Blood-revenge was the "law of the desert"[166] and so long as this law continued to be recognized tribal consciousness remained strong. An interesting example of the tendency to supersede the old tribal custom by royal intervention may be seen in II Samuel 14 11, where King David swears to help a woman from Tekoa who represents herself as fearing the operation of the law of blood-revenge.

Another distinctive feature in the tribal system which is clearly indicated in the Old Testament is the lack of great inequalities of social rank and standing. There was no thought of "rulers" and "subjects" within the tribes, for it was characteristic of the nomad's conceptions of freedom to recognize

163 *Bedouins and Wahabis*, pg. 84, 178.
164 Cf. Skinner, *Genesis*, *Int. Crit. Com.*, pg. 112.
165 Num. 35 12, 19; cf. Josh. 20 5, 9.
166 Cf. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pg. 272f.

no human lord over himself. Of course, there must be some sort of leadership, especially in time of danger from enemies, and the *nāsî'*, "one lifted up", was probably at the head of the tribe for just such emergencies.[167] This leader was doubtless chosen from the number of "elders" (the *zᵉqēnîm*) or clan leaders, or he might be an individual who because of superlative qualities of leadership naturally became "lifted up" to the chief place. Even such a leader must hold council with the elders before any important step was taken.[168] These tribal leaders were thus simply *primi inter pares* and had no power to command but only to advise, like the modern Bedawi sheikh.[169]

Other marks of tribal organization among the early Hebrews also show themselves in the Old Testament records, for example, that fine old custom of hospitality, which is still observed today by the Bedawin as a sort of unwritten law.[170] To deny admittance to a stranger was unthinkable.[171] The pictures in Genesis 18 and 19 show how inviolable the safety of a guest was regarded; every courtesy was shown him, his feet were washed, food was set before him, the host himself waited upon him,[172] and at the end of the visit the host accompanied the visitor a little way on his journey.[173] In the parable of Nathan,[174] we see that a violation of this custom even in David's time was looked upon with anger.

Still another characteristic of nomadic life is seen in the identification of custom and law. With a nomadic people there is no highly organized system of justice and law, but what is custom is regarded as authoritative. It does not lie in the nature of independent, liberty-loving nomads to tolerate statutes, but an appeal to tribal custom is to them absolutely binding.

[167] Cf. Gen. 23 6; 25 16; Ex. 16 22; 22 27; Josh. 9 15, 18. It is to be noted, however, that these passages, with the exception of Ex. 22 27, are all from *P*, which might indicate that this word is late; but the idea at least fits in with tribal life.

[168] Cf. Ex. 4 29; 19 7, etc. [169] Cf. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, pg. 66 f.

[170] Cf. Gen. 18 2 f.; 19 4 f.; 24 31 f.; Jud. 19 23 f., etc.

[171] Gen. 19 2; Ex. 2 20; Job 31 32.

[172] Gen. 18 4, 7, 8; 19 2. [173] Gen. 18 16; 31 27. [174] II Sam. 12 4.

The story of Moses judging the people[175] appears to be a true representation of tribal life, governed simply by consultation of the divine oracle, whose decisions were handed down as precedents. That tribal custom was still appealed to as law even in the time of David is witnessed by the passage concerning Tamar, when in her protest against her brother's threat of violence she appeals not to law but to the fact that "it is not so done in Israel".[176]

The marks of tribal consciousness are strong throughout the stories of the period of the Judges. Indeed, the first chapter of Judges represents the settlement of Canaan as taking place by tribes. The phrase, "there was no king as yet in Israel and every man did that which was right in his own eyes", although a sort of apology inserted by an editor to explain some of the things that went on, expresses exactly the rude and free tribal life of the period.[177]

In the Song of Deborah,[178] only tribes are mentioned. There is question of certain tribes which did not take part in the great struggle with the Canaanites. There appears also on the part of the tribe of Ephraim jealousy of other smaller tribes that assisted in the hostilities against the Midianites and Ammonites.[179] And as Buhl notes,[180] we find in the book of Judges the beginning of a "not too tempered rivalry between the tribes of Judah and Ephraim which later under David brought forth civil war,[181] and finally led to the division of the kingdom after the death of Solomon.[182] From this time onward tribal differences were somewhat lost in the affairs of the two separated kingdoms, but they did not altogether disappear".[183]

After Israel's transition to agricultural and settled life in Palestine, its social organization still preserved for a long time the form of the old desert life, even though in many respects this was not fitted to the conditions of the time.

[175] Ex. 18 13-27. [176] II Sam. 13 12.
[177] Jud. 17 6; 18 1; 19 1; 21 25. [178] Jud. 5.
[179] Jud. 8 1; 12 1. [180] *Soziale Verhältnisse*, pg. 38.
[181] II Sam. 19 10 f.; and Chapt. 20.
[182] I Ki. 12. [183] Cf. Isa. 8 23; 9 20.

Thus at the time of the choosing of Saul as king, the choice was by tribes, families and individuals, until Saul was selected.[184] Another significant case of the survival of clan-consciousness is found in David's departure from the table of Saul to attend a feast of his clan in Bethlehem.[185] The incident reported in II Kings 4 13 of the Shunammite woman who, when Elisha asked whether he might speak to the king or the captain of the host in her behalf, answered that she was not dependent upon the king's protection but was safe within her own clan, shows also the retention of clan government in the midst of settled life in Palestine.[186] Tribal distinctions within the villages of Palestine have not altogether disappeared down to the present day.[187]

We may now consider the stages of tribal organization which appear in the Old Testament. The earliest form was the matriarchate. In this system the unit was not the family but the clan, and it is interesting to note that the same root underlies the Hebrew words for "maiden" and "clan" (*mishpāḥāh*) showing the original association of the clan with the female head.[188] The genealogical scheme which traces descent through Sara, Bilhah and Zilpah, as well as the appearance of tribal heroines such as Leah, Rachel, Hagar and Keturah point to matronymic clans. Also the conceptions underlying certain passages in which kinship through the mother is counted as closer than that through the father, and in which descent from the mother is considered as standing in the way of marriage, are characteristic of the matriarchal clan.[189]

Still further evidence of matriarchal custom appears in the adoption and naming of children by the mother, as well as in cases of inheritance based on descent from the mother.[190] A few cases of exogamous marriage indicate also that the matri-

[184] I Sam. 10 21.

[185] I Sam. 20 6.

[186] Cf. Day, *Social Life of the Hebrews*, Ch. III.

[187] Cf. Grant, *Peasantry of Palestine*, pg. 51 f., and cf. Day, *op. cit.*, pg. 138 f.

[188] Cf. *B. D. B.* under *shāphaḥ*.

[189] Cf. Gen. 20 12; II Sam. 13 12–13; also Gen. 43 29; 44 20; Jud. 8 19; 9 1, etc.

[190] Gen. 30 8; 29 32; 30 6, 24; 21 10, etc.

archal system at one time had its place in the tribal organization.[191]

With the matriarchate is connected the polyandrous family, evidences of which are found in the Old Testament. This was probably brought about by circumstances which caused the diminution of the number of women, possibly arising from the practice of female infanticide, which appears in some parts of Palestine down to a late date. Under this system the woman joined the man's clan permanently, and children were therefore counted as belonging to the father's clan. But since there were several husbands it was impossible to tell which was the real father in the group, so descent was still reckoned through the mother. The father or uncle of an individual was designated by the term *ʿam*, originally "maternal uncle" or "mother's polyandrous husband".[192] Later appeared polygamy and finally monogamy, and the term *ʿam* came to mean first "kindred" and then "people".

The practice of the levirate marriage reflects this stage of organization.[193]

In process of time, conditions gradually altered, making necessary another change in organization, and polygamy arose in place of polyandry, marking the purely patriarchal system. What is known as the *baʿal* marriage was a distinctive feature of the patriarchal tribe. In this the husband was called the *baʿal*, "proprietor", and the wife the *bᵉʿûlāh*, "chattel". The dowry (*mōhar*) paid to the father by the prospective husband (this sort of marriage by purchase succeeded the marriage by capture at an early time) represents the purchase-money (sometimes paid in flocks or camels, in labor, in war-service or in other ways[194]) paid to the former proprietor, the father, by the new proprietor, the *baʿal* or husband.

[191] Cf. Jud. 15 1; 8 31, etc. See also the treatment of this whole subject by W. R. Smith in *Kinship and Marriage*, Ch. I and III.

[192] Cf. Gen. 19 38 where the people are called "children of Ammon" because their ancestor was *ben ʿAmmi*, "son of my uncle".

[193] Cf. W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, pg. 158 f., and Cheyne's article in *E. B.* vol. II, col. 2675.

[194] Cf. Gen. 29 20, 27; Josh. 15 16; Jud. 1 12; I Sam. 17 25, etc.

In the patriarchal system the relationships, tribal membership and inheritance were traced through the father. This is the form of tribal organization most generally found in the Old Testament, the previous stage, the matriarchate, appearing only as a survival from more primitive times. W. R. Smith[195] considers it probable that the patriarchate goes back to primitive Semitic times, and Wellhausen[196] offers proof of this view.[197] Buhl points out that the predominance of the patriarchate in the Old Testament may be seen by the fact that only terms for agnate relatives are fixed, while relationships on the mother's side require circumlocutory expressions.[198] It may also be noted that, since all the Semitic languages have practically the same word for "father",[199] the patriarchal system must have been in vogue before the Semites separated.

The tribe (*shēbheṭ* being the older term, while *maṭṭēh* was the later one)[200] was made up of a number of clans (*mishpᵉḥôth*).[201] Over the clan presided elders (*zᵉqēnîm*) who formed a sort of council to adjust the affairs of the clans, advise with the tribal head, especially in time of war, and to give counsel in all matters pertaining to the relations of the clans.[202]

The clan in turn was formed of a number of families (*bayith*). The "fathers' houses" (*bêth ābhôth*) appear to have been a subdivision or group lying between clan and family, and consisting of the families of several brothers presided over by their common father. The *bêth ābh* was regarded in various ways, as is shown by a number of passages in which this term is used.[203]

[195] *Kinship and Marriage*, pg. 209. [196] *Ehe bei den Arabern*, pg. 479.

[197] Cf. *E. B.*, vol. II, col. 2675. [198] Cf. Buhl, *op. cit.*, pg. 29.

[199] Hebrew and Phoenician, *'ābh*; Aramaic, *'abbāh*; Babylonian and Assyrian, *abu*; Arabic, *'ab*.

[200] For comparison of these terms see Driver's article in *Journal of Philology*, vol. II, pg. 213f.

[201] Gen. 24 38, 40, 41; I Sam. 9 21, etc. and cf. Jud. 13 2; 17 7, etc. show a loose usage in which the *mishpāḥāh* is practically identical with the *shēbheṭ*; cf. Josh. 19 40.

[202] Cf. Num. 11 16, 24; Jud. 11 4f., etc.

[203] Cf. Num. 3 15 and 1 2, 18, 20, etc., and other uses of the term as identical with the family, Ex. 12 3; Josh. 7 14, or with the clan, Num. 3 24, 30, 33, or with the tribe, Num. 17 17; Josh. 22 14.

The family, the smallest unit within the tribal organization, the father ruled. The authority of the father and strict obedience to him were insisted upon.[204] The father was considered the owner of his wife[205] and of his children. He had the power of life and death over them, as is attested by the proposed sacrifice of Isaac, the case of Jephthah's daughter, and the custom of sacrificing children to Molech. He had the right to sell them as slaves[206] and to punish them even with death.[207] The custom of the *mōhar*, mentioned above, shows also that the daughter was regarded as the property of her father; she was thought of as one of the workers in her father's household, and when she was taken out of it to become the worker in the household of her husband, it was necessary to recompense the father for the loss of her service. Marriage was thus an affair of the family, involving only private rights. The home-bringing of the bride from the tent of her father to the tent of her husband was the chief act of the marriage ceremony, and constituted the recognition of the transfer. The tent, which always played a part in the marriage ceremony may be traced to this early home-bringing custom.[208]

The father of a large family was looked upon as being signally blessed by Yahweh; indeed the influence of a man was measured more by the number of his children than by his real property or his flocks and herds. He was especially formidable in the eyes of his neighbors and enemies if he had a large number of sons who would help him in his work or defend him in case of attack.[209] Slaves also formed a part of the family, living with the family, working with it, and having a place in the family's religious life.[210]

[204] Ex. 20 12; Deut. 5 16; Mic. 7 6.

[205] Cf. *ba'al* and *b^e'ûlāh* above.

[206] Ex. 21 7, only not to strangers, v. 8.

[207] Gen. 38 24; cf. the change made in this respect in Deut. 22 21, where the elders and men of the city are the ones who put the guilty child to death; cf. also Deut. 21 18f.

[208] Cf. II Sam. 16 22; Ps. 19 6, etc.

[209] Cf. Ps. 127 3–5.

[210] Cf. Gen. 17 12; Ex. 12 44; Deut. 12 18; 16 11, etc.

The family was also a religious unit, and certain religious rites never quite passed out of its control. The chief instance of this is the Passover celebration, at which the father was master of ceremonies, a custom still surviving among pious Jews.[211] That the family was considered a religious unit is evidenced further by the expression "thou, thy son and thy daughter, thy servants, — —"[212] found in connection with the commandment to keep certain feasts.

The family was the corner stone of the social organization down to the latest times. This is seen in the matter of inheritances, which, if possible, must remain within the family. It is seen also in the disgrace that was felt if one were buried in other than the family tomb.[213]

As a matter of fact, no important development in the family is to be noted from the time when it became fixed in the tribal scheme, for "its character and principles were as permanent as social institutions mostly are in the East".[214]

Besides tribal organization, certain primitive customs and practices of the tribe also survived after the settlement in Palestine. It was remarked above that the nomads left no contemporary written records, but only oral traditions, and that these traditions arose from the very nature of their social life. One of the chief diversions of the Hebrew nomads, as of the modern Bedawin, must have been gatherings about camp-fires in the long evenings when work was done. Then tales were told and songs sung in praise of the feats of heroes, history was passed on, in story form, to be treasured by coming generations. Thus oral tradition, long before writing was common, gathered up and preserved much of the dim past for us.[215]

Such combined amusement and instruction must have played a great part in the social life of the people. It is highly

[211] Ex. 12 3f.; 13 14f. [212] Deut. 12 18; cf. I Sam. 1 3, 4.

[213] Cf. II Sam. 19 37; I Ki. 21 3; Jer. 20 6, etc.

[214] Bennett in *Hastings Dictionary*, vol. I, pg. 850.

[215] Cf. Ex. 10 2; 13 8ff.; Jud. 5 11, etc. Cf. also Doughty, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pg. 228, 263 for a description of the Bedawi songs, poems and stories which went round at the campfires in the evenings.

probable that the books of "Jashar"[216] and of "The Wars of Yahweh"[217] represent later written collections which included just such celebrated and popular old songs and tales of the past. We see examples of this type also in the secular songs of Lamech,[218] the blessing of Jacob,[219] the song of triumph over the defeat of the Pharaoh,[220] the fragment of a song regarding Israel's advance into Amorite territory,[221] the Song of the Well,[222] the Song of Victory over Sihon,[223] and the Song of Deborah.[224]

We can well imagine the Hebrew nomads, "fathers, sons and sons' sons",[225] gathering together in the evening after the day's tasks were finished, and rehearsing the great events in the past history of the tribes. Little else could have formed the subjects discussed in their meetings, by a people to whom tribal tradition meant so much.

Many passages in the Old Testament contain references to the passing on of tradition to coming generations, and lead us to infer that these stories were told not simply for the sake of diversion but as a part of the education of the growing sons.[226]

The material in Genesis represents only part of a great mass of this sort of tradition, and the contents of these stories are just what we should expect to find in such tradition. Among these were etiological stories, which seem to have been the common property of all the Semites, and which the Hebrews adapted to their own mode of thought and their conditions of life. There were also stories which aimed at explaining natural phenomena, such as Genesis 19, which appears to be an attempt to account for the desolation of the Dead Sea region by the destruction of its cities because of their wickedness. Other stories speculated upon the origin and meaning of place- and personalnames,[227] and closely related to these were ethnological legends which were de-

[216] II Sam. 1 18. [217] Num. 21 14. [218] Gen. 4 23 f. [219] Gen. 49.
[220] Ex. 15 1 ff. [221] Num. 21 14 f. [222] Num. 21 17 f.
[223] Num. 21 27–30. [224] Jud. 5. [225] Ex. 10 2.
[226] Cf. Gen. 18 19; Ex. 13 8; Deut. 3 9 f.; Josh. 4 21 f.; cf. also Ps. 78.
[227] Gen. 10 25; 16 11; 17 17, 20; 18 12; 32 30, etc.

signed to answer questions concerning racial origins and relations.[228] Besides we must not forget the numerous hero-stories which make interesting reading for us today and enable us to realize how stirring they must have been to those who told and heard them first.

The riddles which we find in the stories of Samson in Judges 14 suggest that these may represent a common type of folk-riddles which also had their place along with the stories mentioned above. In the case of Samson the riddles are connected with wedding festivities, and may possibly have formed part of similar rejoicings even before this time.

If poetry and song entered into the telling of these tales of the past, as was probably the case, then we may suppose that some primitive musical instruments were known and used as an accompaniment by the Hebrew nomads, as among the modern Bedawin. Though references to music are scattered and isolated in the Old Testament, still we have enough evidence to convince us that the Hebrews were a people of musical temperament. We have already mentioned certain songs which show a very early origin. Song and dance had their place on festal occasions, such as marriages, religious celebrations and victories, and on all other important occasions in the life of the people. Hebrew tradition assumes that music began in the earliest times, with Jubal the "father of such as handle the lyre and pipe".[229]

Three classes of instruments are mentioned in the Old Testament, percussive, wind and stringed. All these, in their primitive forms, were probably known to the early Hebrews, for we find them pictured upon Assyrian, Babylonian and Egyptian monuments of a time long before the Hebrews ceased to be nomads; and these instruments survive also in their simplest forms among modern Bedawin.[230]

The identity of the various instruments mentioned in the Old Testament, especially of the more highly developed forms,

[228] Gen. 25 23 f.; 31 44 f.; 16 12, etc.

[229] Gen. 4 21.

[230] Cf. Benzinger, *op. cit.*, pg. 237 f.; Doughty, *op. cit.*, pg. 263; cf. also *Biblical Antiquities*, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE, 1898, pg. 973 f.

must always remain conjectural, but we may safely assume that the simplest forms of the three classes of instruments named above were known to the Hebrew nomads.

The more complicated forms of instruments later used by the Hebrews, chiefly in the religious worship of the Temple, can hardly have been of foreign origin, but must have been developments of instruments which had the sanction of antiquity, having been passed on from the earlier nomadic times. In this, as in nearly everything connected with religion, the Hebrews are known to have been extremely conservative.

Percussive instruments are most likely the earliest. The *tōph* (R. V., "timbrel") or hand-drum, made of a ring of wood covered with a tightly-drawn skin, appears in the Old Testament. It was played mostly by women, and was used as an accompaniment to song and dance, and possibly to the recitation of the poems and stories mentioned above.[231] Its use was probably secular only, for it does not find mention among the instruments used in the religious services of the Tabernacle or Temple.

The simplest of the wind instruments was the *ḥalīl*, the flute or pipe, nature's own gift to man. This was originally made of reed or hollow wood. Such pipes were doubtless used by the shepherds,[232] and are still in use by the shepherds of Palestine. Like the *tōph*, the pipe does not appear among the musical instruments of the Temple, but was used on festal occasions of various sorts.[233] We also meet the *'ûgābh* as a very early wind instrument, ascribed to Jubal.[234] Its exact nature is not known, but the fact that it is mentioned twice in Job[235] in special connections, seems to put it into the class of wind instruments.[236] We find also the *shôphār*, which according to Joshua 6 5, was a simple ram's horn. The first mention of it in the Old Testament is in the *E* account of

231 Gen. 31 27; Ex. 15 20; Jud. 11 34; cf. Ps. 81 2.
232 Jud. 5 16, emended text, cf. Moore's *Judges*.
233 Cf. I Ki. 1 40; I Sam. 10 5; Jer. 48 36, etc.
234 Gen. 4 21.
235 Job 21 12; 30 31.
236 But cf. *B. D. B. ad loc.*

the giving of the Law at Sinai,[237] where it is used as a signal for the assembling of the people.[238] It was employed also for the giving of battle alarms.[239]

Stringed instruments were not unknown to the earliest Hebrews, though at first they were necessarily simple, with strings of gut, not of metal. The *kinnôr* (R. V. "harp") is ascribed to Jubal,[240] and an old Egyptian monument dating back to approximately 2300 B. C., in a procession of Semitic nomads shows one man playing a *kinnôr*.[241] Just what relation it bore to the *nēbhel* is not known,[242] but the latter seems from the Old Testament references to have been a later and more highly developed instrument. The *kinnôr* was the instrument of David, which as a shepherd boy he learned to play.[243] It is one of the instruments most frequently mentioned in the Old Testament,[244] from the earliest to the latest times, and it came to have a most important place in the Temple orchestra.[245]

VI. RELIGION

Religion is the greatest conserving force in the society of all times. The religion of the Hebrew nomads and its many survivals in the later life of Israel present the largest and most fruitful, and therefore the most difficult field for our inquiry. So large, in fact, is this side of our subject, that valuable as a thorough study of the nomadic religion would be, we can only notice some of the outstanding features of that religion, pausing occasionally to point out its chief survivals in the course of Israel's later religious development.

Our sources, we must remember, are not contemporary documents, but consist of records written long after the events described; for nomads do not have a literature, and leave no

[237] Ex. 19 16; 20 18. [238] Cf. I Sam. 13 3 f.
[239] Jud. 3 27. [240] Gen. 4 21.
[241] Cf. Cornill, *Culture of Ancient Israel*, pg. 113.
[242] Cf. *E. B.*, article by Price on "MUSIC", sect. 4.
[243] I Sam. 16 23.
[244] Gen. 31 27; Isa. 23 16; Ps. 33 2; 53 4; Job 21 12; 30 31, etc.
[245] Cf. I Chr. 15 16; II Chr. 29 25, etc.

written documents behind them. Consequently in the literature which we study, we find religious convictions that are quite in advance of the times concerning which the authors write, and often the viewpoints of the writers are read back into the past. Nevertheless, the basis of their stories was tradition which originated at a time near the period described. This latter fact permits a reasonable expectation of finding in the written records some traces of past reality.

There is much evidence that the religion of the Hebrew nomads was greatly influenced by polydemonism, the common Semitic nomad religion. In considering the Hebrew nomad religion we can not start further back than the time of Moses, for he was the founder of the desert religion of Yahweh. The stories in Genesis present the older type of common Semitic religion after it had passed through the crucible of the Mosaic religion and had been transformed.

During the sojourn at Sinai and Kadesh certain elements appeared in the religion of Israel which made it different from the common Semitic nomad type. The chief of these was monolatry, or the exclusive worship of Yahweh. Monolatry was a great advance over polytheism, and contained the germ which in time could develop into monotheism, but true monotheism did not yet exist in this period.

This Mosaic religion exerted a great influence upon all subsequent religious development in Israel. It proved too strong to be obliterated by the entrance into Canaan, the development of civilization and culture, the contact with other peoples and other religions, and it actually reasserted itself in some of the salutary movements of thought which occurred at critical points in Israel's history. This was due to its inherent capacity for growth and adaptation, while at the same time it preserved the fundamentals upon which it was established.

Nomadic Character of Yahweh

The distinctive feature of this religion is the character of the God to whom the people felt themselves bound by a covenant. Yahweh was a nomads' God; He "found them in

the wilderness".[246] He was a God of the desert. Whatever we may think concerning the ultimate origin of Yahweh, whether He had been the God of the Kenites and Midianites before He became the God of Israel, whether He was first conceived as a God of storm, thunder and lightning, or as a volcanic deity, it is beyond question that, in the thought of the Hebrew nomads, He was closely associated with the desert around Sinai, and with the nomadic life of Israel's beginnings. Even later, in the Song of Deborah,[247] in the so-called Song of Moses,[248] and in the story of Elijah's journey to Horeb to find Yahweh,[249] there are survivals of a tradition which connected Yahweh with the desert.[250]

Moses, as tradition continually asserts, was the founder of the Yahweh religion. His experience at Sinai, and the revelation to him there of a God who would deliver His people from the tyranny of Egypt,[251] were the starting-points of the Yahweh religion.[252]

It is reasonable to suppose that one of the motives for the adoption of Yahweh as God of the tribes that came out of Egypt was an alliance of Israel and Midian for defense, and even for offense, against their common enemies.[253] This would certainly be consistent with the warlike necessities of a nomad people, and it is confirmed by numerous references to Yahweh as a God of war.[254] Warriors were consecrated to Yahweh when they went forth to battle, and so completely were Israel's wars identified with Yahweh's, that we read of the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh".[255] At the outset of each day's march when the ark set forward, Israel said: "Rise, Yahweh, and let Thine enemies be scattered".[256] This conception of Yahweh as a God of war was not lost even down

[246] Deut. 32 10. [247] Jud. 5 4 f. [248] Deut. 32 2. [249] I Ki. 19 8.

[250] Cf. Ex. 19 4: "I brought you unto myself"—to Sinai.

[251] Ex. 3 1–22, *J* and *E*.

[252] Cf. H. P. Smith, *Religion of Israel*, Ch. III;—Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit*, p. 21 ff.;—Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 3 ff.

[253] Cf. H. P. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[254] Cf. Ex. 15 3; Num. 32 20–21; II Sam. 22 35; Ps. 18 34, etc.

[255] Num. 21 14. [256] Num. 10 35.

to the period of the early monarchy, when the ark, conceived as the abode of Yahweh, was carried into battle in order to insure the presence and help of the battle-god.

Even after allegiance was given to Yahweh as the God of Israel, and Israel regarded itself as the people of Yahweh, for a long time He was regarded as simply the chief divinity, and belief in other powers and divinities still continued. A complete and sudden disappearance of the polytheistic conceptions of the earlier nomadic religion was not to be expected. In course of time the former multitude of divinities and demons came to be regarded as only manifestations of Yahweh, and their names finally passed over into epithets of Yahweh. That the more primitive conceptions persisted in the popular mind long after the settlement in Canaan is shown by the prophets' denunciations.[257]

It is almost impossible to single out the precise elements which entered into the conceptions of Yahweh before the settlement in Canaan, both because of the fragmentary nature of the sources and because the later views of writers and compilers have obscured many features of the earlier religion. This much may be said, however, that the people's loyalty to Yahweh was based primarily upon His free choice of them when they were bondmen in Egypt, and that because of this the Yahweh religion was from the first an ethical religion. This view is confirmed by the fact that when the prophets insist upon the ethical requirement of Yahweh, they do not lay claim to originality, but consider their teaching to be merely a continuation of the original religion of Israel.

This emphasis upon the free moral choice of Israel by Yahweh, with its consequent ethical implication, finds no parallel in any of the contemporary religions. Thus Yahweh was regarded as better and greater than the divinities of the other nomads, as for instance the tribal gods of Moab and Ammon.

This also, no doubt, encouraged the thought of a certain arbitrariness of Yahweh which seems to be taken more or

[257] Cf. esp. Isa. 1 29; Jer. 2 27; 3 6, etc.

less for granted. This appears at the beginning of Moses' acquaintance with Yahweh[258] when, for some reason unknown at first, Yahweh is ready to slay Moses; and Yahweh's anger is stayed only when the rite of circumcision is performed. Throughout the story of the sojourns at Sinai and Kadesh the people feel that Yahweh is to be feared because of the vengeance that He will inflict upon the slightest violation of His holiness.

Further examples of this arbitrariness of Yahweh are seen in the fate of the men of Beth-shemesh because of their lack of reverence for the ark, and in Uzzah's death because he touched the ark.[259]

Anthropomorphic ideas entered into the conception of Yahweh in the nomadic period, and these lasted for a long time after the Hebrews settled in the cultivated land. Thus we read of Yahweh's face, His ears, eyes, mouth, hands, feet—in fact, all the features of the human form are assigned to Him.[260] Yahweh was considered to possess human form, even by the latest Pentateuchal writers, as is shown by the statement of the *P* document in the account of the Creation, that man was created "in the image of God and after His likeness".[261] Possibly we may refer also to the ephod which Gideon made of gold taken from the enemy and set up as an object of worship, in case this was an image;[262] and to Micah's silver image.[263]

Holy Places and Holy Objects

In the old Semitic nomad religion worship and sacrifice were performed at "high places" (*bāmôth*), and many passages refer to such places of worship.[264] The sacred rock, or tree, or other object was usually surrounded with a wall or line of stones, and was thus set apart as a sacred place.[265]

[258] Ex. 4 24. [259] I Sam. 6 19; II Sam. 6 6–7.

[260] Cf. Ex. 7 4–5; 9 8, 15; 24 9–11; 33 11a, 12–18, 20–23; Num. 11 11, 18; 22 34; 24 13, etc.

[261] Gen. 1 27. [262] Jud. 8 24 ff. [263] Jud. 18 30.

[264] Cf. esp. in Genesis.

[265] Cf. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 172, 490.

In the Mosaic religion these sacred places and objects were retained, as we see in the older accounts of the period. Worship of Yahweh was carried on at Sinai the "mount of God"; the sacred place of Kadesh was called En-mishpat, "spring of judgment".[266] Moses is said to have set up twelve stones (*maṣṣēbhôth*) at Sinai, which recalls the patriarchs' custom of setting up pillars at places where theophanies occurred.[267]

One of the original commands of the Mosaic Decalog prohibits only molten images.[268] The practice of the people bears out the view that other images were permitted, for we often meet instances of images that were regarded as animated by Yahweh. These indicate that Yahwism was not altogether free from idolatry. In the Mosaic period the conception of the ark did not differ greatly from that of an idol, for it secured Yahweh's presence.[269] Moreover, it became the chief cult-object in the worship in Solomon's temple.[270] Since family gods (*t'rāphîm*) are found both in the primitive Semitic period and in the time of the prophets, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they had a place also in the Mosaic period. Little as we know of the exact nature of the ephod, it appears in many passages in the Old Testament as an object of worship along with images of various kinds.[271]

This brings us to a consideration of two specific holy objects of the Mosaic religion, the tent of meeting and the ark. It is conceivable that the latter of these was not new at this period, but that something of the sort existed previously to secure the presence of the divinity during the journeyings of the nomads.

We find mention of a tent, called the tent of meeting, which was placed outside the camp,[272] and over which Joshua is said to have watched.[273] It seems evident that it was the place where oracles were given, where Yahweh was "met"; and it is likely that it owed its importance to some sacred object

[266] Num. 20 13; cf. Gen. 14 7.
[267] Ex. 24 4; cf. Josh. 4 3, 8 f., 20, for later occurrence of the same practice.
[268] Ex. 34 17. [269] Num. 10 35; 14 44 f., etc. [270] I Ki. 8 6.
[271] Cf. Jud. 8 27; 17 4 f.; I Sam. 21 9, etc.
[272] Ex. 33 7; Num. 11 26. [273] Ex. 33 11.

which it contained. Hence we feel the necessity of placing the tent and the ark together, *i. e.* the tent was the shelter for the ark. This would give Joshua something to guard, besides possibly explaining the later tradition that the ark contained the tables of the law.[274] The tent never appears as a place of sacrifice, but rather as a place of revelation of the will of Yahweh.

The ark is mentioned as accompanying the people on their journey from Sinai, and as a pledge of Yahweh's presence with them.[275] We may infer from these passages that the thought was that Yahweh remained at Sinai while His "presence" attended them in the ark.

The later fortunes of the ark are described in the books of Samuel, where it is known as the "ark of Yahweh".[276] It goes out to battle with the Israelites, and fills the Philistines with terror because they believe it to embody the presence of Israel's mighty God. When the Philistines capture the ark, calamity is brought upon them and humiliation to their god Dagon. It stands for the presence of Yahweh, as is clearly shown by the passage which states that David, dancing before the ark is "dancing before Yahweh".[277] Finally, after one unsuccessful attempt, the ark is brought up to the house of God by David.[278] In Solomon's temple it occupied the holiest place as an object of worship. In David's act of bringing the ark to Jerusalem, we may recognize the intention of returning to Mosaic Yahwism by restoring its chief cult-object to the center of worship.[279] Just how much David may have been influenced by advisors in making this move is not known, but it seems reasonable to suppose that some sort of pressure

[274] The conjecture is made by some scholars that this late tradition arose from the fact that originally the ark contained some meteoric or holy stones which were used, by the method of the sacred lot, for the giving of oracles.

[275] Ex. 33 14; Num. 10 35 f., etc.

[276] I Sam. 4 1 b–7 1; II Sam. 11 11; 15 23 f., etc.

[277] II Sam. 6 14, 16. [278] II Sam. 6.

[279] Cf. II Sam. 6 17, where the ark is placed in the tent that David had pitched for it, and the two most primitive sacrifices, the burnt offering and peace offering, are offered.

was brought to bear. Certainly his action must have affected favorably the conservative religious element within the nation.

Sacrifice

The old ideas of primitive Semitic religion concerning sacrifice must have been carried over into the Mosaic religion, as were the holy objects and holy places. In the nomadic religion sacrifices were numerous. Every killing of an animal for food was also a sacrifice, as is attested by the word *zābaḥ*, which was used to denote both "slaughter" and "sacrifice".[280] Sacrifice was not abolished by Moses, though instances of sacrifice are not numerous in the accounts of the Mosaic period. The infrequent mention is doubtless due to the fact that ordinary sacrifices were hardly considered worthy of specific mention, and consequently the few notices in this period refer only to great and memorable occasions.[281]

Moreover, certain laws contained in the Decalog of Exodus 34, especially the one demanding that "none shall appear before me empty", reflect the common Semitic idea that one could not approach the divinity without some kind of offering.[282]

The earliest meaning attached to sacrifice seems to have been that it established a blood-covenant between the worshipper and his God; or in some cases, between individuals in the presence of the divinity, who was regarded as also a party to the transaction. This conception of sacrifice remained in the Mosaic period, and it is a significant fact that all of the references given above which record sacrifices in this period contain the covenant idea. Most striking is the one in Exodus 12 21f., where a survival of the ancient "threshold covenant" seems apparent.[283] The rite of circumcision, apparently also a survival from pre-Mosaic times, is to be explained in the same manner, as a form of blood-convenant.[284] It was a custom which came down from most ancient times, and it was never

[280] Cf. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 222.
[281] Ex. 10 25; 12 21; 13 12f.; 18 12; 24 5.
[282] Cf. Ex. 34 19, 25a, 25b, 26a, 26b.
[283] Cf. W. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 337, 344, etc.
[284] Cf. Ex. 4 24–26.

lost from the Hebrew religion. In course of time it became the badge of membership in Israel.

There were two kinds of animal sacrifice known to the Hebrew nomads, the "burnt offering" (*'ôlāh*), in which the victim was completely consumed as a gift to Yahweh, and the "peace offering" (*shelem*), which was eaten either in part or wholly by the worshipper. Both appear as the principal sacrifices until a late time.[285] The Book of the Covenant mentions them with the significant addition: "in all places where I record my name, I (Yahweh) will come to thee",[286] implying that these sacrifices might be made at any place where a theophany occurred. The further condition, that the altar must be built "of earth" or of "unhewn stone" has a distinctly nomadic flavor. The repetition of the injunction in Deuteronomy 27 5, that no tool be used in the building of stone altars shows a survival of the nomadic altar down to a late pre-exilic time.

It is questionable whether human sacrifice had a place in the nomadic religion of the Hebrews, but since it was a primitive Semitic practice, it may well have been known to ancient Israel. Instances occur in the case of Abraham's proposed sacrifice of Isaac,[287] in Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter,[288] and in the sacrifice by Hiel the Bethelite of his first-born son, Abiram, on the occasion of laying the foundations of Jericho, and of his youngest son, Segub, when the gates of the city were set up.[289] Infant-sacrifice, apparently learned from the Canaanites, was practised for a long time after the settlement in Canaan. This was denounced by the prophets as abominable in the eyes of Yahweh,[290] but it was still in existence in Ezekiel's time.[291]

[285] Ex. 10 25; 28 12; Jud. 13 16 b, 23; I Sam. 6 14, 15; Lev. 1 1 f.; 3 5, etc.

[286] Ex. 20 24.

[287] Gen. 22—though the writer evidently believed it to be unacceptable to Yahweh.

[288] Jud. 11 31 f., 39.

[289] I Ki. 16 34.

[290] Cf. Micah 6 7; Jer. 7 31; 19 35, etc.

[291] Ezek. 20 26, 31.

Priesthood

Tradition makes Moses the great prophet of Yahweh.[292] As a prophet he delivered his people from Egypt and laid the foundations for the Yahweh religion; but he appears also as a priest of Yahweh, in the original priestly function of consulting the oracle, not of offering sacrifice.[293] There seems, however, to have been some thought of the priest as sacrificing agent even in the beginning of the Mosaic period. This occurs in at least two of the instances of sacrifice mentioned above;[294] first, Jethro, the Midianite priest of Yahweh,[295] and second, Moses, who officiates at the offering of sacrifice. The tradition which later traced priestly descent from Moses (and Aaron) must have had some basis of fact.

In primitive Semitic religion, in which sacrifice was offered by anyone in any holy place, an order of priests was not needed to perform this function. This remained true in the Mosaic period. The sacrifice performed by the young men of the clans points in this direction.[296] In course of time, possibly from the beginning through the influence of Midianite custom, a sacrificing priesthood became necessary, and the office tended constantly to become limited, until finally the priest was solely the sacrificing agent of the people and the overseer of the ritual. In the so-called Blessing of Moses[297] the Levites appear presiding over the sacred lot of Urim and Thummim, but also as burning incense and offering sacrifice.

The primary function of the priest as consulter of the oracle survived down to the time of the early kingdom. Both Saul and David took priests with them on their campaigns in order that they might ascertain the will of Yahweh whenever a decision became necessary.[298] The story of Micah the Ephraimite[299] is also enlightening. The young Levite, tracing

[292] Deut. 34 10; Hos. 12 14, etc. [293] Ex. 33 7 f.; Cf. I Sam. 9 9.

[294] Ex. 24 6, 8; 18 12.

[295] Apparently Jethro is to be thought of here as initiating Moses into the office.

[296] Ex. 24 5. [297] Deut. 33 8–10.

[298] I Sam. 14 3, 37; 23 2, 4, 6, 9 f.; 30 8; II Sam. 5 19, 23; 21 1, etc.

[299] Jud. 17.

his descent from Moses, who came to Micah and became his "father and priest", exercised the original function of the priest as the guardian of the ephod and teraphim.

Since nomads are not inclined to tolerate rulers and authorities over themselves, it must have been that tribal custom still remained the law or standard of action for the most part. Minor cases were taken care of by the elders, but the more important ones which concerned the community at large were brought to Moses.[300] In connection with Moses' priestly function of consulting the sacred oracle stands his reputation as the great law-giver of Israel. This accounts in part for the claim that the laws were of divine origin, for the decisions of the oracle were believed to be controlled by Yahweh. In Exodus 18 13ff. Moses sits to "judge" the people. This must have been done by consulting the oracle, the decisions of which passed down into more or less fixed form, becoming the "instructions" and judgments employed as precedents to settle cases.

Feasts and Holy Seasons

Just as there were holy places where Yahweh was especially to be sought, and holy objects which were closely associated with His worship, so there were holy seasons when the Hebrews felt it specially necessary to draw near to Yahweh.

The pastoral and astronomical holy days observed in Israel certainly came from the nomadic period.

The Passover, being a family, not a national feast, is distinctly a pastoral festival that came down from the nomadic period. It was associated with the Exodus from Egypt, just as all the great feasts were made anniversaries of outstanding events in the people's history, but it probably did not originate at the time of the Exodus, for it is mentioned before that time. It is possible that Moses brought it from Midian, and made it known for the first time to his brethren in Egypt, as an excuse for escaping from the country.[301] Some of the directions relating to the Passover observance, *e. g.* that the

[300] Ex. 18 19–26.

[301] Ex. 3 18b.; 5 3, 8b.; 8 1, 20–25; 12 21–28; 34 25; Deut. 16 1ff., etc.

Passover lamb must not be left over until the next morning,[302] and that the lambs be brought "according to families",[303] have a distinctly nomadic character. It is possible that originally this feast was associated with the sacrifice of the firstlings which also took place in the spring of the year. Its connection with the feast of unleavened bread is late.[304]

The feast of sheep-shearing also belongs in the class of pastoral holy days.[305] This festival was of a more private character than the others, for Absalom gave special invitations to those who were to attend it.[306] It had no historical significance and was therefore forgotten when agricultural life was taken up.

The three annual pilgrimage-feasts which are enjoined in the Book of the Covenant: "three times in the year shall all thy males appear before Yahweh-Elohim"[307] were doubtless originally nomadic festivals, since they appear in old legislation. It would be natural for nomads living in the region of a holy place, such as Sinai, to journey thrice in the year to the sacred spot, there to keep a feast before Yahweh, and perhaps to bring their firstlings to dedicate in recognition of His goodness. These were times of rejoicing, as is suggested by the term *ḥag* which was applied to them.[308]

After the settlement in Canaan, the pilgrimage feasts were transformed into agricultural festivals, which coincided with the three stages of the harvest: the barley harvest in spring, the wheat harvest seven weeks later, and the ingathering of grapes and other fruits in autumn.

From an early time the first of the three pilgrimage festivals was connected with the Passover, and included the sacrifice of firstlings as well as agricultural offerings.[309] This suggests a transformation of all these festivals from old nomadic pilgrimage feasts, one of which may have been the Passover.[310] The later connection of these feasts with important historical

302 Ex. 34 25, *et. al.* 303 Ex. 12 21, 26, etc.
304 Deut. 16 seems to be the first place where this combination is made.
305 I Sam. 25 2ff.; II Sam. 13 23ff. 306 II Sam. 13 23b.
307 Ex. 34 23. 308 Cf. *B. D. B., ad loc.*
309 Ex. 12 17, 18, 21f. 310 Ex. 34 18f.

events, *e. g.*, the Passover with the Exodus from Egypt, shows the Hebrew conception of Yahweh as a God who revealed Himself through acts in the nation's history. It served also, at least in the case cited, to keep alive the memory of that redemptive act which stood at the beginning of the national history, and it called to mind the continued goodness of Yahweh which showed itself in the fortunes of the nation.

The New Moon and Sabbath, which are usually mentioned together in the Old Testament, probably belonged to the nomadic period.[311] From I Samuel 20 5, 18, 24, 29, it appears that in David's time new moons were celebrated with family gatherings.

We know that in Babylonia Sabbaths were observed in very ancient times, and were taboo days falling upon the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first and twenty-eighth days of the lunar month. Certain things were not done in them, not because they were days of rest but because they were "unlucky" days. The fact that the Babylonian "Sabbaths" coincided with the phases of the moon suggests strongly that the Sabbath originally was a lunar day which was raised to a new significance by the Hebrews and given a moral and religious value.

The earlier codes command only a cessation from field labor on the Sabbath;[312] and it is unreasonable to suppose that nomads could drop the care of their flocks for one day in seven. The law in Exodus 20 8: "Remember the Sabbath to keep it holy" comes nearest perhaps to the original idea of the day as a propitiation of the deity, when certain acts were prohibited. This is the Babylonian idea of the *shabattum*, from which the Hebrew Sabbath is probably derived.[313]

At the beginning of this section it was observed that religion in all times is one of the most powerful conservative forces in society. We have seen how strongly it operated in the ancient religion of Israel, and one need only glance at modern orthodox Judaism to be convinced that survivals of desert elements are still numerous because of this conservative tendency.

To this day pious Jews feel that a bit of soil from Palestine

[311] Cf. Amos 4 5; Hos. 2 11; Isa. 1 13; II Ki. 4 23, etc.

[312] Ex. 23 12; 34 21.

[313] Cf. Driver, *Exodus*, p. 198; and article in *D. B.* on "Sabbath".

is sacred, and this is only a faint reflection of the original feeling of the Hebrews that somehow their God was bound, first to the Sinai region, then to the "Holy Land". The idea that He was bound to Sinai took a long time to disappear, and to its persistence is due much of the corruption of the religion of Israel when the nation entered Canaan. The obvious inference in the popular mind was that, if Yahweh was a desert God, then homage must be rendered in Canaan to the gods who bestowed the fruits of the cultivated land.

When the Hebrew prophets of the seventh and eighth centuries contemplated this corruption of religion and defection of the people from Yahweh, they discerned that the old simplicity of the Mosaic age must return, if the nation were to be saved, even though the restoration might come through a catastrophe. No higher construction could have been put upon the disaster which was imminent at the time when those great and fearless preachers proclaimed their fiery messages. Therefore, they said that the impending destruction, towards which all the signs of the times pointed, must sweep away the temptations of Canaan that had drawn away the heart of the nation from Yahweh. Yahweh would accomplish this and thus would vindicate His power over *all* things in the land. Then the "remnant" of the people, recognizing Yahweh as the Giver of *all* bounties (of the cultivated land as well as of the desert) would be docile and disposed to keep the faith of Yahweh pure, "as in the beginning". Then they would render to Him, and to Him alone, the homage due to Him.

The prophets' faith in Yahweh remained unshaken in spite of circumstances, and the faithlessness of Israel only served to enhance the abiding faithfulness of Yahweh. How these prophets came to embrace this belief, and the ways in which they supported and advocated the "nomadic ideal", as we shall call it, will be treated in the following section.

VII. THE NOMADIC IDEAL

Thus far we have considered the historical nomadic elements in the life and religion of Israel. The original nomadic

life we have reconstructed by a reasonably complete study of the sources in the Old Testament. Its abiding influence has been noted in some of its chief survivals in social and religious life down to a time considerably after the settlement in Palestine. As has been observed more than once in the foregoing pages, religion plays the greatest *rôle* in the conservation of ideas and customs. In such a natively religious and tradition-loving people as Israel these conserving forces were all the more prominent and powerful.

As time went on and life in Palestine became really formidable in the eyes of the higher spirits, it was inevitable that a reaction should come against the civilization of Canaan, and a consequent desire to call the nation back to its "first love". Those who knew the pure faith of Yahwism felt that it would be easier to give exclusive worship to Yahweh in the simple life of the desert. Thus the nomadic idea came into its own again as an ideal. The past was idealized and projected into the future.

Accordingly we shall find a consideration of the more important currents of thought in the pre-exilic religion of Israel fruitful for a determination of the "nomadic ideal".

Before embarking upon this examination, it will be necessary to define what is meant by the term "nomadic ideal". This phrase was first employed by Budde in an article in the *New World*,[314] entitled *THE NOMADIC IDEAL IN THE OLD TESTAMENT*. His point of departure is the appearance of Jonadab ben Rechab in II Kings 10 15f. as a champion for pure Yahwism, and the re-appearance of the Rechabites fully two hundred and fifty years later as a sect which continued faithful to the commands of Jonadab,[315] who prohibited building houses, sowing seed and planting of vineyards. Budde points out that "the nomadic ideal meets us not only in the Rechabites but also, in another form, in the prophets of Israel".[316] He goes on to show some traces of it in Jeremiah, Hosea and Isaiah.

[314] Vol. 4, Dec. 1895, pp. 726–745, shortly after appearing in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 1896.

[315] Jer. 35. [316] Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 730 f.

The conclusions of Budde are accepted by Ed. Meyer,[317] who makes the suggestion that Budde's theory is capable of still wider application. It seems unaccountable that so fruitful a theme has thus far not received the specific attention of Old Testament scholars.[318] Notwithstanding the fact that König in a somewhat cursory note discounts Ed. Meyer's *Bedawi Ideal* (without, however, any reference to Budde's fuller treatment of the subject), the evidence, as we shall see, is strongly in favor of the existence of such an ideal.

From Budde's article it appears that the "nomadic ideal" of the prophets Jeremiah, Hosea and Isaiah is for him the conception that the grave social and religious problems of Israel are to find their solution in a reduction of the land of Palestine by Yahweh to a condition which will permit only a nomadic existence similar to that of Israel's beginnings. The Rechabites advocated and practised this sort of existence, believing that this was the only sure way of guaranteeing a pure Yahwism; but their conception rested on the false assumption that Yahweh was God of the desert only, and therefore could not sanction any other mode of life than the nomadic for the people who claimed His blessings. In the prophets, as Budde makes clear, the ideal becomes broader in that it implies a forced return to nomadic life, as a measure of discipline visited upon the people in order that, under conditions like those in which Yahwism was first nurtured in the forefathers of Israel, it might again be established; and after this chastening, a "remnant" might grow into a faithful people who would give their undivided loyalty to Yahweh.

This conception, applied more widely and interpreted even more broadly than by Budde, we propose to consider here. In the prophets this idea finally comes to be a hope for the return of the people to the spiritual simplicities of Israel's

[317] *Israeliten*, p. 132 f.

[318] Brief mention of the nomadic ideal is found in a little book by Fr. Küchler, *Hebräische Volkskunde*, p. 5; in an article by Ant. Causse in the *Revue de Théologie et Philosophie*, for Nov. 1919, p. 237 ff.; and in the article on "*Prophecy*" by König in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

past. The distinction which we must bear in mind between the narrower and broader conceptions of the nomadic ideal, is the distinction between *a return to primitiveness* and *a return to simplicity*. The development of the "ideal" tends away from the former and toward the latter conception.

In Israel, as among other peoples, the "golden age" was conceived as lying in the past. Consequently, even though religious leaders often portrayed "a good time coming", they nevertheless also cast their glance backward. This is strikingly true of the great writing prophets of the seventh and eighth centuries, who possessed a wide knowledge of the history of their people.

Even farther back than these seventh and eighth century prophets we note the beginnings of the broader conception of the nomadic ideal. These beginnings cannot be said to stand on the same level with the teachings of the later prophets, but nevertheless they distinguish themselves from the narrow and fanatical view of the Rechabites. As soon as the social and religious problems of settled life began to manifest themselves, men of God arose who sensed the dangers of foreign elements intruding themselves into what they conceived to be pure Yahwism, and who let their voices be heard in the interest of conservatism.

Thus Nathan the prophet tells David that Yahweh was content to dwell in a "tent" ever since He brought Israel from Egypt;[319] He never asked to have a "house of cedar" (v. 7), does not require David to build a "house" for Him; but on the other hand, He will build a "house" for David.[320] It would have been a departure from the old simplicity had David constructed a permanent dwelling for Yahweh. Later also, in Nathan's rebuke of the king,[321] the point is made (v. 14a) that David's evil deed is a violation of the religion of Yahweh, a corruption which lays Yahweh open to ridicule by His enemies.

[319] II Sam. 7 6.

[320] Here with the meaning of "family, posterity", cf. Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, pp. 275f.

[321] II Sam. 12.

Similarly, Ahijah the Shilonite, because Solomon in his ostentatious rule and his practice of idolatry did not adhere strictly to Yahwism, supported Jeroboam's revolt against the king.[322] Subsequently, the same Ahijah pronounced judgment against Jeroboam on the ground of unfaithfulness to Yahweh[323] and because he "made other gods". Every compromise of the Yahweh religion with heathenism roused these men of God to protest.

Elijah also, who came dressed in the rough, hairy garb and leather girdle of the nomad,[324] voiced his opposition to Ahab's defection from the faith of Yahweh[325] and to the apostasy of all the people.[326] Elijah's statement that he was "jealous for Yahweh" reveals the chief reason for the recurrence of the nomadic ideal in its many forms, *i. e.*, the fear lest Israel, and with it the religion of Yahweh, by mingling with other peoples and adopting elements from other religions, should lose its identity.[327]

Before passing to a consideration of the nomadic ideal in the prophets of the seventh and eighth centuries, it will be profitable to note how greatly this ideal influenced the historians of both kingdoms, the so-called Jahwists and the Elohists. It has already been observed that *J* and *E* in their stories of the patriarchs represent them as nomads who, passing by the kingdoms and cities of the land, kept themselves aloof from contact with these impure places.

The *J* document is the first to picture the nomadic life of the fathers of Israel as the "golden age" of the past. In *J* especially there appears almost an elation over the patriarchs' opposition to civilization. The building of the first cities and the invention of the first arts are attributed to the cursed race of Cain.[328] The Flood story has as its motive the de-

[322] I Ki. 11 29 f., esp. verse 33. [323] I Ki. 14 1 ff., esp. v. 8–9.

[324] The prophets adopted this habit, according to Zech. 13 4.

[325] I Ki. 18 18.

[326] It is significant that Elijah was a Tishbite from Gilead, a district close to the desert, and that he was consequently a qualified representative of the life and faith of the nomads.

[327] Ps. 106 34–40. [328] Gen. 4 17.

struction of the proud works of civilization in order that man may start again in simplicity to live a life of complete trust in Yahweh.[329] In many other ways the *J* writer exhibits his support of the idea that the nomadic life was the ideal life in the golden age of Israel's past. The *E* document concurs in this presentation, and is even more complete than *J* in its depiction of this phase of the early life of Israel.[330]

The historical starting-point of the concrete form of the nomadic ideal we must find, as does Budde, in the advent of the Rechabite sect in II Kings 10 15f. These Rechabites were the first open and obstinate adherents of desert customs and religion. It may be true, as suggested by Budde, that this attitude did not start as a religious ideal with the Rechabites, but simply as a hereditary vow binding the descendants of Jonadab to remain true to the primitive customs of the desert. Still the fact that II Kings 10 15 makes Jonadab speak of his "zeal for Yahweh", coupled with the other appearance of the Rechabites in Jeremiah's time, seems to indicate a religious ideal in these enthusiasts.

When the Rechabites emerge from obscurity in Jeremiah's day, this prophet makes pedagogic use of their fidelity to the commands of Jonadab their forefather. In so doing, Jeremiah does not commit himself unequivocally to the exact *form* in which the Rechabites' zeal for the nomadic ideal manifested itself; nevertheless he shows himself a supporter of the ideal itself. The point he tries to make clear is that these enthusiasts stand in sharp contrast to the defection of Judah from Yahweh.

These two appearances of the Rechabites, with so long a period intervening, show most certainly that in the interval a continual reminder of simple pastoral life was held up before the nation in the example of representatives of this sect. The fact that the other prophets before Jeremiah make no direct allusions to the Rechabites, and do not use their fidelity to bring home a lesson to the people, does not necessarily mean

[329] Gen. 6–7.

[330] For a fairly complete and convincing treatment of these facts see Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 ff.

that these prophets were not in sympathy with the Rechabites as conservers of the past. It was merely accidental that circumstances brought this sect strikingly before the public in Jeremiah's time, and he therefore naturally laid hold of the opportunity for illustrative purposes.

Amos' allusion to the Nazirites[331] is almost a parallel case. In forcing the Nazirites to partake of wine their fidelity to their vows was shaken, and this is used by Amos to illustrate the whole people's unfaithfulness to Yahweh in spite of His goodness. (v. 10.)

These two instances taken from the first of the great writing prophets of the eighth century and from the last but one of those of the seventh century, show the difference between the Nazirite-Rechabite way of adhering to the nomadic ideal and the way of the prophets. Here appears the wider and more spiritual interpretation of that ideal by the prophets. If we defined the nomadic ideal of the prophets as merely a protest against civilization and idolatry, we should only call old ideas by a new name; but protest formed only a part of the prophets' support of that ideal. To realize all that the ideal meant to them we must notice in their writings the evidences of a tendency to look back with a sort of longing to the "golden age" when simplicity of faith in Yahweh was easy under the ideal conditions of nomadic life. In their longing for old times the prophets go so far as to voice the conviction that a return to such conditions is the only thing that can bring the nation back to Yahweh.

There are chiefly three ways in which the nomadic ideal presents itself in the prophets' writings: 1) in their frequent references to the "time of Israel's youth" and to the wilderness journey (the nomadic life) as a time when the people were close to Yahweh; 2) in their opposition to sacrifice and ritual and to the evils of civilization as not belonging to the nomadic religion and life; and 3) in the nomadic figures which they employ to depict the "good time coming", in the restoration

[331] Cf. Amos 2 11 f.; cf. also Harper's *Amos and Hosea, Int. Crit. Com.* p. 56 f. for the relation of Rechabites and Nazirites.

of the people to Yahweh's favor. We shall endeavor to place these three forms of the ideal before ourselves and to estimate their meaning and importance in the prophets' teachings.

1) Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Jeremiah speak frequently of that wonderful time when Yahweh took His chosen people and led them out of Egypt. The bondage under the Pharaohs was always remembered as a hard and cruel experience of servitude; but the thought of the deliverance served to mitigate the bitterness of the bondage. It furnished the occasion for Yahweh's goodness and men could glory in the supreme fact of Yahweh's free, moral choice of Israel as His people. Except for the pitiful and helpless condition of the unfortunate Hebrews in Egypt, Yahweh could not have come to deliver them. That act of redemption at the beginning of the nation's history stood ever as a testimony to the character and moral quality of their God, and the prophets never tired of picturing it before the minds of their hearers to arouse their gratitude, and also to furnish a standard whereby to measure how far the people had wandered from a simple trust in Yahweh.

Thus Hosea (11 1) tenderly reminds his auditors of Yahweh's choice of Israel, and of Israel's nearness to His heart: "When Israel was a child I loved him and called my son out of Egypt". That was an ideal time in the prophet's estimation —a time of felicity and high endeavor—but how far the nation had fallen from it! Hosea again makes mention of Yahweh's goodness (12 13), this time naming the "prophet" (Moses) whom Yahweh used to accomplish His loving purpose for Israel; and in 13 4f. he still dwells upon the love of Yahweh: "I shepherded thee in the wilderness".[332] So full is Hosea of the thought of that blissful day that whenever he comes to the point of the people's sin in turning away from Yahweh, he breaks out anew in praise of that time when there were none of the troublesome allurements to glaring social and moral evils such as had come to exist in his own day.

In somewhat similar terms Amos appeals to the time of the wilderness journey as the season of Yahweh's special favor[333]

[332] Cf. Harper, *op. cit.*, p. 397. [333] Cf. Amos 2 10, 11b.

before Israel lost her "virgin purity" (5 2). After rehearsing the deeds of wickedness which the ungrateful people have committed, Amos turns back to that event whose memory ought to have kept gratitude alive: "And yet it was I who brought you up out of Egypt and went with you in the wilderness" (2 10). The same thought recurs in a slightly different context in Amos 3 1, 2a: "You only have I known (= "loved") of all the families of the earth". It is interesting, and perhaps of greater significance than most commentators have admitted, that when Amos (5 6a), after singing the dirge of Israel, says: "*Seek* Yahweh and live", he employs the phrase ("to inquire of Yahweh") which in the olden times was applied to consulting the oracle of Yahweh.[334] Has this any connection in the prophet's mind with the early days when Moses was the mediator between Yahweh and the people in consulting the sacred oracle? If so, this utterance of Amos pleads strongly for his support of the nomadic ideal, for it urges a conception of religion like that of the Mosaic period.

We are not in the realm of conjecture when we find in Isaiah certain passages that refer to the early desert days as a time of close attachment to Yahweh, whose return is highly to be desired in the prophet's own time when there are such disgusting manifestations of disloyalty. He does not look for a unique and miraculous future to solve the perplexing problem, but rather for a return to a former ideal condition—"as in former times" (1 26). He anticipates a restoration, "as in the day when Israel came up from Egypt" (11 16b).

In Jeremiah's prophecies we meet again allusions to the glorious past much like those that we have noted in the writings of his three predecessors. Thus, for instance, he begins one of his earliest prophecies: "I remember the kindness of thy youth, how thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land not sown. Israel was holiness unto Yahweh" (2 2-3a). Jeremiah, accordingly, believed that in those old nomadic days Israel was loyal to Yahweh, and the inference is (v. 7) that, since Israel became estranged after entering the "plentiful

[334] Ex. 18 15; I Sam. 9 9.

land", therefore (3 1) there must be a "return" to recognition of Yahweh as the "guide of her youth" (3 4), and a realization of the calamity which the civilization of Canaan had brought. Israel is urged to "know her sin" through which "the labor, and the flocks and the herds of the fathers have been devoured" (3 13, 24). The logical consequence is expressed in 4 20–27: the whole land must be reduced to desolation so that by this discipline Israel may be brought back to Yahweh.

By citing the central precept of the Mosaic religion: "I will be your God and ye shall be my people" (7 22f.), Jeremiah refers once more to that ideally close attachment and allegiance to Yahweh which existed at the time of the nation's beginnings.

Not again do we meet the nomadic ideal in Jeremiah until the incident of the Rechabites.[335] This silence may be explained by the fact that the changing situation led the prophet to expect, not a reduced existence within the borders of the land, but captivity and exile.[336] At the close of the Rechabite incident he turns to these followers of Jonadab and promises them continuance (35 18f.); as if to say to the rest of the people: "Had you remained loyal to Yahweh, as these have to the commands of Jonadab, and not allowed the life in this land to turn you away from the simple faith of your fathers, it might be well with you also".

2) Another evidence of the prophets' support of the nomadic ideal lies in their consistent opposition to formalism in religion, to sacrifice and ritual, and to the evils that come in the wake of civilization. Many scholars hold that this indicates no more than that these prophets were not acquainted with the early Pentateuchal codes and therefore were not in a position to know all the facts in the case. Admitting this, the fact still remains that the *way* in which they oppose the evils, usually implies that things were better in the desert so far as loyalty to Yahweh and purity of religion were concerned. This pleads strongly in favor of the presence of the nomadic ideal in their thinking. After all, it is equally reasonable to suppose that they claimed that Yahweh gave no explicit commands for

[335] Ch. 35. [336] Cf. Jer. 13 17; 16 10; 20 4; 22 22, etc.

sacrifice in the desert because they recognized that offerings and ritual afforded the surest temptation to heathenism. Therefore the prophets were led to claim that *all* offerings and ritual were not only indifferent to Yahweh but even hated by Him.

Amos declares quite frankly that the people sacrifice simply because they like to do so, "for this pleaseth you" (4 4f.), while in reality it is "multiplying transgression" and therefore is not desired by Yahweh. "Yahweh hates, despises the feasts and solemn assemblies"; He cares not for the "noise of the songs"; the sacred instrumental music with which they have embellished their worship avails not to win His favor.[337] This prophet puts into the form of a question the proposition which Jeremiah later affirms outright, that Yahweh commanded no sacrifice at the time of the Exodus.[338] If Israel hopes once more to please Yahweh, she must abandon these rites, which are foreign to pure Yahwism, and return to ancient simplicity of worship.

In the same denunciatory tone Hosea proclaims that "Yahweh desires goodness and not sacrifice, the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings" (6 6); and again: "As for sacrifices, Yahweh accepteth them not" (8 13). Even Micah, who does not openly reveal belief in a return to nomadic life as the discipline which Yahweh will administer, repeats the common conviction of his predecessors that Yahweh does not desire sacrifice and burnt offerings.[339]

The prophets' opposition to the conditions of life in Palestine is shown by their denunciations of these conditions as evils that have worked havoc and enticed Israel away from Yahweh. "Israel hath cast off that which is good" cries Hosea; the splendor of a royal establishment, the silver and gold and idols have come between her and Yahweh.[340] "Their land is full of silver and gold, of treasures and idols", says Isaiah, but a day is coming when "Yahweh alone shall be exalted".[341]

[337] Amos 5 21–23; 6 5; 8 3a.
[338] Amos 5 25; cf. Jer. 7 22.
[339] Micah 6 6f.
[340] Hos. 8 3–5; cf. 13 2.
[341] Isa. 2 7f.

The wealth and glamor of settled life have taken possession of the people, and caused them completely to forget Yahweh. The very land in which they dwell and all that pertains to it have wrought confusion and trouble. As Budde suggests,[342] the false conclusion drawn by the people, which the prophets try to correct, is that the gifts of the land are given by the gods of the land, who in return demand homage.

Hosea alone of the prophets faces this belief, and claims in answer to it that Yahweh is not limited to power over the gifts of the desert only, but He is also the giver of blessings in the land of Palestine.[343] Nevertheless, the stiff-necked people must be deprived of these latter gifts for a time before in their extremity they will be led to acknowledge Yahweh's supremacy over *all* good things.

3) More significant than either of the foregoing indications of the nomadic ideal in the prophets is a third evidence which we must now consider. The prophets show a great fondness for nomadic figures of speech, which they use to describe conditions past, present and future.[344] The instances in which these are employed to represent the coming redemption of Israel are numerous enough to warrant the conclusion that they spring from a longing that things may again be as they once were. The clearest passages of this sort are found in Hosea and Isaiah, but they are not wanting in the other prophets of the same period.

As a solution of the problem mentioned above, how shall Israel be saved from the conditions of settled life which have drawn her away from Yahweh and caused her to serve the *ba'als* as the providers of the bounties of the land?—Hosea comes out boldly with the statement: "I will make thee to dwell in tents as in the days of thy youth".[345] He goes on to say that, after this chastening, Yahweh will restore to Israel the grain, the wine and the oil (2 21f.), then she will acknowledge Yahweh and not the *ba'als* as the source of these blessings;

[342] *New World*, vol. 4, p. 732. [343] Hos. 2 5.

[344] Amos 1 2b; 3 12; Hos. 5 6; 12 9; 13 6; Isa. 5 17a; 13 20b; 14 9, 30a; Jer. 4 20; 10 20; 13 17; 23 2–4; 31 10; 33 12; 50 6; Zeph. 2 6; 3 13, etc.

[345] Hos. 12 9.

but this does not materially change the main point of his argument. He expects the nation to come to itself through the experience of a temporary return to desert conditions. Hosea pictures this return quite completely when he says: "I will bring her back to the wilderness, and there will I speak to her heart, . . . and she shall make answer there (that is, she shall reciprocate Yahweh's love) as in the days of her youth when she came up from Egypt".[346] Even the kingdom shall disappear for a while, for "Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without sacrifice", (3 4) and "they shall go with their flocks and their herds and seek Yahweh" (5 6). Closely parallel to this, Jeremiah speaks of the discipline with which Yahweh will visit His people: "Shepherds with their flocks shall come to her (*i. e.*, Zion); they shall pitch their tents against her round about; they shall feed every one in his place",[347] "again in this place . . . shall be an habitation of shepherds causing their flocks to lie down".[348]

Zephaniah also conceives of the redemption of Israel as coming through a return to nomadic life: "The sea-coast shall be pastures, with caves for shepherds and folds for flocks".[349] The purified remnant shall "feed their flocks upon the border land",[350] "they shall feed and lie down and none shall make them afraid".[351]

The earlier chapters of Isaiah yield a number of passages which indicate this prophet's belief, at least in his younger days, that Israel would be restored to the old order of things. Budde has pointed out that Isaiah's oldest predictions, especially those contained in his inaugural vision in Chapter 6, are echoes of the teachings of his older contemporary Hosea. "How long, O Lord?" the prophet asks; and he is told: "Until cities be wasted, and the land become utterly desolate, and the forsaken places be many in the midst of the land", and only a remnant be left.[352]

In the much-discussed seventh chapter of Isaiah also, we see the nomadic ideal. Without entering into the unfinished

[346] Hos. 2 14 f. [347] Jer. 6 3. [348] Jer. 33 12.
[349] Zeph. 2 6. [350] Zeph. 2 7. [351] Zeph. 3 13 b. [352] Isa. 6 11 f.

controversy concerning this chapter, we may note one or two predictions of a reduction to the conditions of nomadic life. Of Immanuel it is said: "Butter and honey shall he eat that he may know to refuse the evil and choose the good". This verse surely describes the diet of a nomad. The picture is completed in verses 21 and 25: "In that day each shall keep a young cow and two sheep, and from the abundance of milk which they shall give he shall eat butter: for butter and honey shall every one eat who is left in the midst of the land". The whole land is to become a wilderness suited only to a nomadic existence. To be sure, this experience will not be exactly "ideal" for those who have grown accustomed to the tastes and habits of settled or urban life; on the contrary, as is shown farther on (8 21-22) it will be bitter indeed. Its virtue lies in the fact that this discipline will awaken again the old faith in Yahweh.

In Chapter 32 the lingering thought flashes up once again that the conversion of the land into a wilderness will be necessary to convert the people to their God. Here the prophet pictures a veritable desert, but "justice shall dwell in the wilderness" (32 16). Yet the darker side remains in "smiting the breasts for the pleasant fields and the fruitful vine" (v. 12); "thorns and briers shall come up in the land, and the palace shall be forsaken, and the populous city deserted", becoming "a pasture for flocks" (vv. 13-14).

It is clear, therefore, that the prophets of the seventh and eighth centuries held the nomadic ideal. At a certain point in their preaching, however, it seems that each perceived that the nation had remained obdurate too long to permit the working-out of this ideal in the exact way in which they had first presented it. Consequently they introduced a new and sterner note into their preaching, and predicted, not a reduction of the land, but speedy destruction and banishment from the land. Always, however, there remained hope of the ultimate saving of a remnant.

Even with this change of emphasis, the essential element in the nomadic ideal did not disappear. The prophets now saw that the return to nomadic life was only incidental to the

fundamental message which they proclaimed. They had been trained to think of the nomadic life of the fathers as the golden age of Israel's history, and consequently their minds turned naturally toward a return of that happy state as the only possible hopeful explanation of the doom that seemed inevitable on account of the nation's sin; but now they began to see that Yahweh had other purposes, and accordingly, their conception of the nomadic ideal became broader. It became so broad indeed that it seems almost arbitrary to persist in calling it a "nomadic" ideal. The essential element, however, in the prophets' later hope was identical with the hope which they had previously embodied under the form of the nomadic ideal, *i. e.,* that Israel would be brought back to the simple and uncorrupted faith of the fathers; only now they saw the deeper meaning of their hope and could still cling to it though they were certain of the exile and of the destruction of the holy city and the temple. In this sense we may say that the nomadic ideal was never lost by the prophets.

It was a long process through which the nomadic ideal passed from its first narrow form in the practice of the Rechabites to its purification and transformation by the prophets!

But the highest reaches of this ideal were not apprehended even by the prophets. It remained for Jesus to spiritualize it completely. When He came "in the fulness of time", His mission was to discover for men the deep underlying spiritual realities of life, to relate them to the Father who is the giver of life and all its blessings, and to win the loyalty of men to eternal values, that they might not lose themselves amid the allurements of a world that is dead to higher truths. He raised the nomadic ideal to its sublimest heights by pointing men to the glorious simplicities of faith and love.

Since we stand constantly in need of an ideal of this sort, we may learn a lesson from the history of its development in ancient Israel. We have still those among us today who, like the Rechabites, think the way to please God and to enjoy His blessings lies in a return to primitiveness. For them the *form* counts supremely. The danger of such a course is just as grave as that of perverting and misappropriating the

highest gifts of life by surrendering one's self to the evil of the world.

The note which needs to be struck in Christianity today is one which corresponds fundamentally to that which the prophets sounded in their day when they advocated a return to the nomadic ideal in its broadest sense. It is a call back to the essential spiritual simplicities of faith and life which God has revealed in the person and work of His Son Jesus Christ.

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[1] Abbreviations: I. C., International Critical Commentary; C. B., Cambridge Bible; N. Cent., New Century Bible.

Cheyne, *Hosea* and *Micah* (C. B.)
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PRIESTS AND LEVITES

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DOUBTLESS the most perplexing questions concerning the Old Testament treatment of the priests and Levites are these: Who were the Levites and what was their connection with the priests? and, What is the connection between the Zadokites, sons of Zadok, and the Aaronites, sons of Aaron?

Ch. 40-48 of Ezekiel, the P code, and the works of the Chronicler are of particular importance in this discussion. I refer to my published papers for the view that these concluding chapters of Ezekiel are much later than the time of Ezekiel[1]. In accordance with these conclusions of mine I shall consider these chapters not as related to the exile but to the Maccabean period.

There seems to be good reason for the acceptance of the general conclusion of Professor Torrey[2] that the only source used by the Chronicler in Ezra-Nehemiah was the memoir of Nehemiah, comprising most of ch. 1—2, 4—6 of Nehemiah; that no sources aside from the canonical books were used by him in the Books of Chronicles; and that the material not based on these sources is original with the Chronicler and therefore unhistorical. The date of the Chronicler is probably not earlier than 300 B. C. It is a question whether the unhistorical character of the material of the Chronicler is due to anachronism, the transference of the institutions of his own

[1] "The Authorship of Ezekiel 40–48", *JBL* 34 (1915), 17–40; "The Date of Ezekiel 45 1–8a and 47 13—48 35", *JBL* 40 (1921), 70—75.

[2] *Ezra Studies.*

day to an earlier time, or to actual invention. It seems to me that the latter explanation is ordinarily the correct one and hence that the unhistorical statements are largely ideal, i. e., imaginary.

There are several strata or revisions in P, and it contains some preexilic material, not confined entirely to the code H. It was probably written in Palestine, by Jerusalem priests, and completed at some time between 500 and 400 B. C. By general agreement, it contains much unhistorical material. Here, as in the case of the Chronicler, it is often held that the unhistorical material comes largely from anachronism, but the ideal standpoint seems to be the more probable and usual explanation. The picture of the tabernacle in P, for example, it is generally agreed, is purely imaginary, although based in a general way upon the temple at Jerusalem. If the tabernacle itself is imaginary, other features associated with it are quite sure to have the same character.

These introductory statements bring us to the specific question: Who were the Levites and what was their connection with the priests?

According to the more usual view expressed in P and the work of the Chronicler, only the descendants of Aaron are priests; all other members of the tribe of Levi are known as Levites and do the subordinate work in the temple, being, of course, inferior to the priests.

Except in P, the Chronicler, and Ezekiel ch. 40-48, the evidence for this distinction of priests and Levites is very slight. It is generally agreed that it was not an early distinction. In the early Old Testament period, of course, any one could be a priest. The limitation of the priestly office to the tribe of Levi came into being gradually, but from an early period of the kingdom it seems to have been recognized as at least the usual thing. This does not mean, of course, that all priests were actually Levites, but that they ordinarily claimed that descent. The original form of H, which was preexilic, spoke frequently of priests, but apparently without further definition. It is clear that at least up to the exile all Levites were priests, the representations of P and the Chronicler

for this period, which tell a different story, being clearly unhistorical. This situation is portrayed in Deuteronomy, where the common expression is *the priests the Levites*, meaning *the Levite priests*, with sometimes such phrases as *the priests the Levites, even all the tribe of Levi*, Deut. 18 1. In much of the literature after the exile there is no reference to priests or Levites. Often, also, in this period, priests are mentioned but not described, with no mention of Levites; this is the usage in Haggai (2 11-13), Zechariah (7 3, 5), and Joel (1 9, 13; 2 17). In other places, however, all Levites are represented as priests; this is the usage in Malachi (2 1, 4, 7, 8; 3 3), in Is. 66 21 (Trito-Isaiah), where the translation of the original text probably should be: "And of them also will I take for Levite priests, saith Yahweh", in some postexilic passages in Jeremiah (33 18, 21, 22), and in Zech. 12 12. All these passages may perhaps be regarded as earlier than the publication of P except the Zechariah passage which is much later than P but apparently has not been influenced by it. Aside from Ezekiel ch. 40-48, which will be discussed later, the only postexilic passage which shows the distinction between priests and Levites is Ps. 135 19-20, where the "house of Levi" appears by the side of the "house of Aaron". This psalm is later than P, and seems to be the only passage showing the influence of P on this point before the Maccabean period.

It is also the case that both P and the Chronicler show considerable variation from their own prevailing view on this point. In several passages of P priests are simply mentioned as such, without further definition; such are Lev. ch. 6-7; ch. 12-15; ch. 27; Num. 5 9-28; 6 1-21; 15 22-31. In a few passages in P, also, the term Levites is used concerning the whole tribe; such are Ex. 6 25; Lev. 26 32-33; Num. 35 1-8. The Chronicler speaks of "the priests the Levites", 2 Chron. 30 27, etc. Not only does the memoir of Nehemiah, Neh. 2 16, omit the Levites in an enumeration of the various classes of the people, but this is also done in a similar way by the Chronicler, Neh. 9 32, 34.

Except in one passage in the Psalms, then, and in the concluding chapters of Ezekiel, from the Maccabean time, the

Levites as a subordinate class distinct from the priests are unknown in the postexilic usage, and in a considerable number of passages, mentioned above, from the postexilic period, all Levites are regarded as priests. This makes it evident that the representation of the Chronicler, that the Levites were in existence as a distinct class inferior to the priests from about 538 B. C., Ezra 1 5; 2 40, 70; 3 8-10, 12, etc., is unhistorical. That suggests that the whole representation in P and the Chronicler concerning the Levites as a class distinct from the priests is essentially imaginative. In what sense this is the case will be discussed later.

Further, P recognizes only two classes of temple ministrants, priests and Levites. The Chronicler, however, in many passages has five classes, in this order: priests, Levites, singers, porters, and Nethinim, the latter class sometimes including "the children of Solomon's servants" as a sub-class; such is the representation in Ezra 2 40-58, 70; 7 24, etc. Those here called porters were שֹׁעֲרִים, the door-keepers or watchmen in and about the temple. In other passages in the Chronicler, however, the singers and porters, while recognized as distinct classes, are included under the Levites, 1 Chron. 23 3, 5; 16 4; 31 14, etc., and the Nethinim are often ignored. The representation of the Chronicler is thus much confused, it seeming to be a matter of uncertainty whether there are here two classes or more, up to five. Singers, porters, and Nethinim, as distinct from Levites, are classes unknown in the Old Testament outside of the Chronicler. This has a distinctly unhistorical look.

The name Nethinim, meaning *those given,* indicates that those thus described were temple-slaves, given to the temple. These are stated by the Chronicler, Ezra 8 20, to have been those "whom David and the princes had given for the service of the Levites", a statement which at any rate shows the conception of the Chronicler in reference to the essential character of those thus described. The phrase "the children of Solomon's servants" also points to the view that these were regarded as a class of slaves given by Solomon to the temple. The Gibeonites also were such temple-slaves according to Josh. 9 23, 27 (these statements probably belonging to JE). It

is intrinsically probable that the subordinate service in the temple was before the exile rendered by slaves since this is in accord with the custom in other ancient temples, these slaves of course being foreigners.

Actual history in later times knows of only two kinds of subordinate ministrants in the temple, singers and porters; these are all that are recognized in the Talmud (Baudissin, in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. IV, p. 94). It is probable in the nature of the case, as it is generally agreed, that these two kinds of service were rendered in the temple before the exile. Hence the two classes of temple attendants, singers and porters, were doubtless known as such before the exile, while the term Nethinim was a general term, descriptive of the position of those meant as slaves but not defining their duties. Hence singers and porters, approaching the matter from one standpoint, and Nethinim, from another, may all naturally be preexilic terms although not found in preexilic usage. P virtually recognizes the identification of his Levites with the Nethinim by applying to them the term נְתוּנִים, identical in meaning with נְתִינִים, in Num. 3 9; 8 16, 19; 18 6. In these passages the Levites have essentially the status of slaves to the priests, which is the idea also in 1 Chron. 23 28.

P and the Chronicler both greatly magnify the importance of the Levites beyond anything known at any time in history. The regulation in Num. 35 1-8 (P) prescribes that 48 cities should be given to the Levites; in accordance with this passage, Josh. 21 13-42 (also P) gives a list of the 48 cities assigned, 13 being given to the Aaronites and 35 to the Levites. This list is at many points out of harmony with the history, because many of the cities were not occupied by the Hebrews until late and then clearly not possessed by the Levites. It is doubtful, in fact, whether there ever were any purely Levitical cities. It is doubtful, also, whether the Levites ever had the tithe, which was assigned to them by P and the Chronicler, Num. 18 21-32; Neh. 10 37-38. It was certainly given directly to the priests in the later usage; Josephus says it belonged to them, with no suggestion that it had ever been the possession of the Levites, *Ant.*, xx, viii, 8; ix, 2; *Vita*, 12, 15. The watch

service in the temple, the work of the porters, which belonged to the Levites according to P and the Chronicler, was only partially theirs according to the Mishna, the three stations in the inner court being occupied by priests (Baudissin, Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible,* vol. IV, p. 94). The service of consecration of the Levites, Num. 8 5-22, has no place in the history and is evidently purely imaginary. The statement of the Chronicler, Neh. 8 7-9, that the Levites were teachers of the law, a duty elsewhere belonging to the priests, is surely unhistorical. The further statement of the Chronicler, 1 Chron. 15 27; 2 Chron. 5 12, that the Levites and singers wore the priestly linen robe is evidently imaginary. The position of the Levites at the close of the Old Testament period was utterly insignificant, they are mentioned but three times in the New Testament (*Enc. Bib.*, col. 2774).

In view of all that has been said it seems evident that the Levites as a class distinct from the priests and subordinate to them is purely an artificial creation, devised by P and adopted by the Chronicler. Views approximating to this position have been expressed by others, but with some differences. The general situation seems to be as follows. Before the exile the subordinate work of the temple was performed by slaves, known by the descriptive term Nethinim, divided, according to their work, into two classes, singers and porters, the former being superior to the latter. The general situation after the exile was the same as before. These temple slaves, however, certainly after the exile and probably before, were circumcised, according to the usual treatment of slaves among the Hebrews. P, for reasons which will be discussed later, wishes to give these attendants a higher status and calls them Levites. The Chronicler accepts the phraseology of P but keeps also the old classification. The result is that the Chronicler gives a jumble, which seems to be due chiefly to his attempt to combine the theory of P with the older facts. Ultimately the phraseology of P was adopted, as shown by the Talmud and the New Testament, although only slightly within the Old Testament itself. Levites became thus the comprehensive term, with singers and porters as the divisions.

The term Nethinim practically disappeared from use, being found in the Talmud but having no meaning there.

There may be several reasons why P used the term Levites and put such great emphasis upon the importance of those designated by this term. Hereditary slaves tend in antiquity to become under some circumstances a favored class, and the actual status of these attendants as slaves may have been largely ignored in course of time, especially during and after the exile. It is quite possible that some of them claimed Levitical descent. Probably the principal reason, however, was a desire to glorify the cult. The imaginary tabernacle, of such magnificence, was prompted by this reason, its supposed existence provided the authority of great antiquity and great splendor for the cult. The tabernacle, according to the picture of P, required an elaborate personnel; temple slaves were, therefore, quite inadequate, so the Levites were created for the purpose. The author of P doubtless considered it out of accord with the dignity of the cult that the ministers in the temple should be foreigners and slaves. All magnifying of the importance of the Levites enhanced the splendor of the whole cult. This is sufficient, then, to account not only for the use of the term Levites, but also for the exaggerated representations of their importance.

The second question we have proposed for consideration is a related one: What is the connection between the Zadokites and the Aaronites. I am aware that there have been many discussions of this subject, some quite recently, which cannot be specifically noticed for reasons of space; the conclusions here reached differ materially, I think, from any previously stated.

The well-known fact has already been noted that while in the early history of the Hebrews any one could be a priest, later this was limited to the tribe of Levi. Then came the time when all Levites were priests. The most powerful body of priests, however, from the time of Solomon, consisted of Zadokites, the Jerusalem priests who called themselves descendants of Zadok whom Solomon established as the principal priest in Jerusalem. The Zadokites continued in charge of

the temple at Jerusalem until the exile. In P, however, the true priests are known not as Zadokites but as Aaronites. The Chronicler, also, uses the term Aaronites at times for the priests, and in his account of the return from the exile mentions one returning priest, Daniel, a descendant of Aaron through Ithamar, thus not a descendant of Zadok, Ezra 8 2, probably also Neh. 10 6. The Chronicler gives the descendants of Ithamar eight courses along with sixteen for the descendants of Eleazar, 1 Chron. 24 3-5, these being assigned to the time of David.

What has already been noted concerning the unhistorical character of the statements of P and the Chronicler concerning priestly matters makes it probable that their representation at this point also is unhistorical, a conclusion which is confirmed by the available data. All available evidence indicates that the phraseology of P and the Chronicler did not come into common use; the priests were not ordinarily called Aaronites but Zadokites, after the exile as well as before. That this was the case in the late postexilic period is generally recognized. The Sadducees, originally a priestly party, derived their name from Zadok the priest, according to the generally accepted view; this is a testimony to the designation of the priests as Zadokites in the Maccabean period. Ben Sirach testifies to the same situation, in 51 12 (9) in the Hebrew text, where it is said: "Give thanks to him who chose the sons of Zadok for priests". This testifies to the thought of that general time, whether this particular statement is genuine or not, a point somewhat in doubt. The only descriptive term for the priests in ch. 40-48 of Ezekiel is Zadokites. The common assumption that the term Aaronites replaced the term Zadokites in popular use during or immediately after the exile, and then was again replaced by Zadokites, is thus seen to be exceedingly improbable.

A limited use of the term Aaronites is found, but without significance as to common use; it shows some slight influence of P and the Chronicler. This use in the Old Testament is limited to three late psalms which speak of the Aaronites as priests, Ps. 115 10, 12; 118 3; 135 19. Ben Sirach also refers to

Aaron as the ancestor of the priests, 45 6-22, with particular mention of the priesthood as descending to his descendants by an everlasting covenant, v. 15. This is immediately followed, however, by praise of Phinehas the reputed ancestor of Zadok, it being said of Phinehas "that he and his seed should have the dignity of the priesthood for ever," v. 24. Ben Sirach, therefore, has only in mind the Zadokites as priests, who are also described as Aaronites.

The explanation that seems most probable in view of the circumstances is this: There was no early association of the priests with Aaron. The writer of P, however, wishes to give an ancient lineage to the priests, both in order to provide a personnel for the tabernacle and to enhance the glory of the cult. In tracing the lineage to Aaron he is probably following a traditional association with Aaron which had gradually come into being. The early association of the priests had apparently been principally with Moses. But as increased emphasis came be put upon the work of Moses as law-giver, his importance in relation to the priesthood quite naturally diminished. Fairly early traditions indicated that Aaron was the brother of Moses, Ex. 4 14 (probably a revision of J), and that Moses had assigned priestly rights to the sons of Levi, implied in Ex. 32 26-29 (E). It was thus natural that Aaron should be selected as the ancestor needed to supply the ancient lineage.

It seems evident that P had in mind only the Zadokites as priests, the term Aaronites being regarded as identical in meaning with Zadokites, designed to supplement it not to replace it. The term Aaronites also has its place in the thought of P as a convenient means of discrimination between priests and Levites, only the descendants of Aaron being regarded as priests, all other members of the tribe of Levi being Levites. P enumerates four sons of Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar, with the express statement that Nadab and Abihu died without descendants, Num. 3 4. Ithamar is consecrated as a priest as well as Eleazar, Ex. 28 1. It is noticeable, however, that P gives no descendants of Ithamar while he does of Eleazar, Ex. 7 23, 25, leaving the obvious in-

ference, especially in view of other circumstances to be noted, that he regarded Ithamar also as having died without issue. Eleazar has all the real importance, being associated with Moses, according to P, in various important activities, Num. 26 63; 31 12-54; 27 1-11; 32 2-32, much of the last passage being from JE, but the references to Eleazar from P. In Num. 25 6-13, further, the priesthood was promised by Moses to Phinehas the son of Eleazar and to his seed, thus excluding any possible descendants of Ithamar. The glorification of Eleazar is also clearly evident in Num. 3 32, where he is called "prince of the princes of the Levites". The passages in Psalms and Ben Sirach already quoted are quite in harmony with this idea, that the term Aaronites is equivalent to Zadokites, in fact that seems to be the necessary meaning in Ben Sirach.

The Chronicler, however, misunderstands the statement of P concerning the Aaronites, regarding it as a broader term than Zadokites, so that he includes descendants of Ithamar as well as of Eleazar among the priests. It is possible that the Chronicler's broader use of the term Aaronites is based upon some traditional association of priests with Ithamar in his time. The paucity of the references of the Chronicler to Ithamarites, however, clearly suggests vagueness in the historical basis, the only references being in 1 Chron. 24 3-5 and Ezra 8 2, with which Neh. 10 6 is probably to be associated. The diminishing importance of the Ithamarites as the course of history draws nearer the time of the Chronicler is doubtless of significance. Whereas in the time of David the Chronicler assigns eight out of twenty-four courses of priests to the Ithamarites, 1 Chron. 24 3-5, at the time of the return from the exile he mentions only one Ithamarite, Ezra 8 2. It is not surprising that this usage of the Chronicler makes no impress on the history; the Ithamarites are not mentioned in any actually historical accounts.

Earlier in this discussion I referred to my published view that all of ch. 40-48 of the Book of Ezekiel was written during the Maccabean period, although not all at the same time. Assuming that standpoint, the significance of these chapters in relation to the preceding discussion will now be

considered. The priests in these chapters, when defined, are regularly described as Zadokites; there are here no references to Aaron or Aaronites. The priests are called Zadokites in 43 19; 44 15; 48 11 and 40 45-46. The last passage probably means that all priests are Zadokites; the other possible view, that there were priests not Zadokites, leaves these other priests undefined and is less probable. This passage, 40 45-46, is peculiar in that it recognizes two classes of priests, "the keepers of the charge of the altar", and "the keepers of the charge of the house", the latter class being the non-Zadokite priests, if there are such. The duties of the latter division are those usually assigned to the porters, classed under the Levites. It is significant in this connection to note that the exact phrase here used of the priests, "keepers of the charge of the house", is applied in 44 14 to the Levites who went astray, while a similar phrase, "the ministers of the house", is applied in 45 5 to the Levites generally. The passage 40 45-46 is probably to be assigned to the year 165 B. C. This passage might suggest that the line of separation between the priests and the Levites was not entirely definite, there being those who were called sometimes priests and sometimes Levites, although other passages do not suggest that view.

The most puzzling question in the closing chapters of Ezekiel, however, concerns itself with the identification of the Levites who went astray after their idols, 44 10-14; 48 11. The references might mean that all the Levites went astray. More naturally, however, they would be understood as indicating that not all the Levites were guilty. Thus in the passage which assigns to the Levites a possession equal to that of the priests, 45 5, the Levites are called simply "the ministers of the house", with no suggestion of guilt. Also, in the fullest description of the guilt of the Levites, 44 10-14, they are called "the Levites that went far from me", most naturally a description of only a portion of the Levites.

These words I consider to have been written after the destruction of the Samaritan temple in 130, and I think the Levites meant were the priests of that temple. These priests were at least partly of Levitical descent and doubtless claimed

such descent entirely; their claims on the ground of descent could not be entirely ignored. Their temple worship, however, while ostensibly in the name of Yahweh, was regarded by the Jews as idolatrous. The description of the acts of these guilty Levites is entirely suitable to these priests of the Samaritan temple. They are assigned to the work of the porters, the lower of the two classes into which the Levites were divided. This assignment is thus a compromise; on the one hand, by virtue of their Levitical descent, they are not denied a connection with the temple; on the other hand, by reason of their idolatrous acts, in opposition to the worship of the temple in Jerusalem, they are given the lowest possible temple assignment. The descriptions of the Zadokites in 44 15 as those "that kept the charge of my sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray from me", and in 48 11 as those "that have kept my charge, that went not astray when the children of Israel went astray" are apparently in their direct application descriptions of the faithfulness of the Jerusalem priests at the time of the Samaritan schism. Yet it is quite probable that there is also intended an allusion to the religious schism when the kingdom was divided, designed to cast discredit upon the whole religious history of the northern kingdom, quite in the spirit of the Chronicler. It is in favor of this that the primary responsibility for the defection in these two passages and also in 44 10 is not placed upon the Levites but upon the people of Israel. The use of foreigners as attendants in the temple, here forbidden 44 7, 9, while not mentioned in the historical accounts of the Maccabean times, nevertheless would be natural during the disorganized religious conditions which prevailed at various times during that period. It is a practice which might naturally have been introduced by some of the Hellenizing high-priests and have become a prevailing custom.

BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS IN AMERICA

The following list is the result of a questionnaire sent out by a Committee of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in the year 1921. The Committee made a report at the December meeting, and the Society then resolved that such a list should be compiled.

Hebrew

There are of course many rolls of the Pentateuch in possession of synagogues. No attempt has been made to secure a report on these, and the well known care taken to make such rolls conform exactly to the traditional text makes it unnecessary to use them for critical purposes. The following manuscripts have been reported by educational institutions:

Dropsie College.

About fifty Geniza fragments of which a special catalogue is contained in the Jewish Quarterly Review, 1922.
Book of Esther with 58 illustrations (vellum, modern).
Two copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch (rolls, modern).

Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Fragment of a shorthand Bible from the Geniza (two leaves).
Scroll of the Pentateuch from China.
Two scrolls of the Pentateuch from North Africa.
Fragments of an old scroll on leather.
Samaritan Pentateuch (modern, on paper).
The five Megilloth (parchment, in case).
Seven scrolls of Esther, two on leather with crude illuminations.

Bible codex (parchment, fourteenth century, Italian.)

Pentateuch with Haphtaroth and Hagiographa written on the margin of an illuminated Italian Mahzor (parchment, fourteenth century, Italian).

Pentateuch with Haphtaroth (parchment, thirteenth century, Italian).

Pentateuch with Masora, illuminated at the end (parchment, fourteenth century, Italian).

Pentateuch with Haphtaroth (parchment, fourteenth century, Italian).

Pentateuch with Masora, Rabbinical characters (parchment, fifteenth century, Spanish).

Leviticus with Masora, written by Isaac Graziano (parchment, sixteenth century, Italian).

Genesis and Exodus with commentary of Immanuel ben Solomon and Targum (parchment, fifteenth century, Italian.)

Genesis and Exodus with Targum and Saadia's Arabic (Yemen, 1560).

Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, with Targum, Saadia's Arabic and Rashi's commentary (Yemen, nineteenth century).

Jeremiah 12-21 with Masora (parchment, tenth century, oriental).

Two Haphtaroth with Targum (eighteenth century, Yemen).

Lamentations, Job, Psalms, Proverbs in a prayerbook (Yemen, 1652).

Psalms and Job (parchment, fifteenth century, Spanish).

Psalms (fourteenth century, oriental).

Psalms with Saadia's Arabic in Hebrew characters (eighteenth century, oriental).

Song of Songs, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, with Targum and Rashi (eighteenth century, Yemen).

Song of Songs, two fragments with Targum, supralinear vocalization for both text and Targum (fifteenth century, Yemen).

Song of Songs with Targum and a different supralinear vocalization (fifteenth century, Yemen).

This Seminary has now received the Elkan Nathan Adler collection containing many more manuscripts. A catalogue was published in 1921 by the Cambridge University Press.

Johns Hopkins University.

Several Geniza fragments. Seven are mentioned.

Library of Congress.

Pentateuch roll on parchment, no date given.
A number of Esther rolls, one illuminated and some apparently old.

Catholic University of America.

Hebrew codex of the fourteenth century.

University of Michigan.

Two Pentateuch scrolls (seventeenth century).
Pentateuch codex (vellum, seventeenth century).
Two Esther scrolls (seventeenth century).

Swarthmore College.

Pentateuch and Ruth (recent).

University of Pennsylvania.

Portion of a Pentateuch roll on heavy parchment.
Esther roll (leather, said to be of the twelfth century).
Samaritan roll written by Amram ben Isaac (Genesis only).

Harvard University.

Three Esther rolls on parchment (apparently recent).
Genesis and Exodus (dated 1690).

Philadelphia Divinity School.

Bible on vellum (dated about 1506).

Princeton University.

Two Esther rolls, one imperfect.
Ezra roll, on leather.

Columbia University.

Pentateuch with Rashi and an Arabic translation (incomplete).
Psalterium Harmonicum, polyglott Psalms (Hebrew, Greek and Latin).

Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy with Targum, Rashi and Saadia's Arabic (Yemen, 1717).
Esther roll (vellum).
Psalms, on paper (much mutilated).
Later Prophets (two volumes, vellum, with Targum and supralinear vocalization).

General Theological Seminary.

Codex of the Hebrew Bible (thirteenth century).

University of Chicago.

Pentateuch roll.

Cornell University.

Esther roll with illuminated borders (probably modern).

Ohio Wesleyan University.

Esther roll, apparently modern.

Haverford College.

Hebrew codex nearly complete on vellum (thirteenth century).
Two Pentateuch rolls (vellum).
Leather rolls of Lamentations, Ruth, Esther and Canticles.
Five vellum fragments.
Genesis and part of Exodus, with Targum and Arabic in Hebrew script (on paper, said to be from Yemen).

Greek: Old Testament

University of Michigan.

A papyrus copy of the Minor Prophets thought to be of the third century, preliminary description in the *Harvard Theological Review*, April, 1921.
Deuteronomy, Joshua and Psalms, described in *Michigan University Studies*, Vol. VIII; facsimile published under the title: *The Washington Manuscript of Deuteronomy and Joshua* (1910).
Two Psalters (paper, fifteenth century).
Psalter (vellum, fourteenth century).

Harvard College.

Psalms (eleventh century?), 332 pages.
Psalms (thirteenth century).

Johns Hopkins University.

Psalter, at one time the property of Caspar René Gregory.

Several libraries possess facsimiles of the great codices, Vaticanus, Alexandrinus and Sinaiticus.

GREEK: NEW TESTAMENT

Harvard College.

Tischendorf's copy of the Codex Sinaiticus "written out by others but corrected by Tischendorf".
Selections from the New Testament, Evangelistary, Acts and Epistles (twelfth century).
Gospels (tenth century?).
Gospels (twelfth or thirteenth century).
Gospels, selections (thirteenth century).
Three papyrus fragments are listed by Gregory.[1]
Gospels (fourteenth century), according to Gregory in the Andover Seminary, now the Andover-Harvard Seminary.

New York Public Library.

Lectionary of the Apostolos (fifteenth or sixteenth century). Listed and described by Mitchell, *Critical Handbook of the Greek Testament*, p. 231.
Lectionary of the Gospels (fifteenth or sixteenth century, Mitchell, p. 242).

University of Chicago.

Parchment fragment of Mark (fifth or sixth century).
Parchment fragment of Revelation (fifth century). These two are published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Nos. 3 and 848.
Gospels (fifteenth century) described as the Haskell Gospels by Goodspeed, *Historical and Linguistic Studies*, Vol. II, 5.

[1] Gregory, C. R., *Die Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 1908, p. 261.

A Lectionary bound up with the preceding according to Goodspeed, (*Catalogue of Manuscripts in the University of Chicago Library*, p. 55).

University of Michigan.

The Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels (fifth century), described by Sanders in *Michigan Studies*, IX, Part 1—also reproduced in facsimile (1912).
Washington fragments of the Epistles, described in the same volume, Part 2, with reproduction of the text.
Fragments of Matthew and Mark (tenth century).
Three Lectionaries (eleventh and twelfth centuries).
New Testament from the Burdett-Coutts collection (twelfth century).
Acts and Pauline Epistles (twelfth century, Gregory 224).
Lessons from the New Testament (fourteenth century, Gregory 223).
Gospels—fifteen copies dated from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries (from the Burdett-Coutts collection).
Lectionary (thirteenth century, vellum).
Lessons from the Gospels (fourteenth century, vellum).
Evangelistarium, 205 leaves (twelfth century, vellum).
Evangelistarium, 148 leaves (thirteenth century, vellum).
Acts and Epistles, 375 leaves (eleventh or twelfth century, vellum).
Acts and Epistles, lectionary (fourteenth century, vellum).
Lectionary, Gospels, 98 leaves (seventeenth century).

The Pierpont Morgan Library.

Gospels (eleventh or twelfth century).
Gospels (about 1100).
Gospels (twelfth century).
Gospels (about 1200).
Lectionary (thirteenth century).

General Theological Seminary.

The Hoffman Gospels (tenth century, Gregory 2324).
Gospels (Gregory 2346, tenth century?).
The Benton Gospels (tenth century, Gregory 669).

These three described in *Harvard Theological Series*, No. IV.
Lectionary (fifteenth century).
Lectionary (imperfect, twelfth or thirteenth century).
Fragment of Mark (twelfth century).

The Newberry Library, Chicago.

A Gospel manuscript studied and described by Goodspeed in his dissertation, *The Newberry Gospels* (1902).

Drew Theological Seminary.

Drew minuscules 1-9 are fully described and facsimiles of specimen pages are given by Professor Sitterly in his *Canon, Text and Manuscripts of the New Testament*, 1914.
Apparently not included in the above is a Lectionary listed by Gregory as 1260 (*Griechische Handschriften*, p. 159).

Union Theological Seminary.

Gospels (thirteenth century), Gregory 929.

Brown University.

Lectionary of the Gospels (twelfth or thirteenth century) described by Mitchell, *Critical Handbook*, p. 233.

Princeton Theological Seminary.

Lectionary of the Gospels (twelfth or thirteenth century) described by Mitchell, p. 245.

Syracuse University.

Gospels (twelfth century), Mitchell, p. 245.

Trinity College.

Two Gospel manuscripts apparently those listed by Gregory as in Sewickly (*Griechische Handschriften*, p. 262).

Library of George A. Plimpton, LL. D.

Greek Liturgical MS (tenth century).

Library of Mr. J. N. Phelps Stokes.

Gospels (tenth century?).

Library of Mr. H. C. Hoskier.

Hebrews and Apocalypse (eleventh century).

Latin

Library of Congress.

Illuminated vellum copy of the whole Bible, Gothic character (thirteenth or fourteenth century).

Library Company of Philadelphia.

Latin Bible, never carefully examined.

Princeton University (Garrett deposit).

Copy in Visigoth writing (eighth century).
Revelation and Glosses (thirteenth century).
Psalm fragments (thirteenth century).
Isaiah (fourteenth century).
Psalter (circa 1260).
Bible of Jerome (circa 1300).
Apocalypse, now in Mr. Garrett's hands.
Bible in three volumes, Scotch hand (circa 1275).

General Theological Seminary.

Entire Bible, Vulgate (thirteenth century).
Gospel of Mark (twelfth century?).

Saint Louis University.

Manuscript containing Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, Job, Minor Prophets, Isaiah and Lamentations in this order, followed by the New Testament.

Eugene Bible University.

Vellum of 558 pages, beginning with Exodus and ending with Hebrews (circa 1300).

Northwestern University.

Complete Bible in vellum (thirteenth century).

Saint Bernard's Seminary.

Fragment of Job (two leaves).

The Newberry Library.

Five Bibles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Ohio Wesleyan University.

The historical books of the Old Testament (thirteenth century).

Cornell University.

Old Testament and Apocrypha, except Genesis and Ex. 1-14.
Proverbs with commentary (circa 1438).
Pauline Epistles (eleventh century, Mitchell, p. 234).

Columbia University.

Bible on vellum (thirteenth century).
Psalter (fourteenth century).
Gospel and four Epistles (circa 1430).

Johns Hopkins University.

Psalter (fourteenth century).

Library of Mr. Henry E. Huntington.

Whole Bibles, nine in number dated from 1250 to 1453.
Psalms (circa 1250).

Harvard College Library.

Two Bibles (thirteenth century) from the Library of Charles Sumner.
Bible folio manuscript of about 470 leaves (thirteenth or fourteenth century).
Bible, incomplete (258 leaves, fifteenth century).
Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Song, Ecclesiasticus (probably thirteenth century).

New Testament, ninety-five leaves in minute characters (thirteenth or fourteenth century).

Gospels (thirteenth century).

Story of the Passion from Matthew, Mark and Luke (fourteenth or fifteenth century).

Union Theological Seminary.

Three Bibles, vellum, in the Frederick Ferris Thompson Collection (thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries).

Vellum manuscript containing the books from Genesis to Ruth.

The Pierpont Morgan Library.

Eight complete Bibles (dated in the thirteenth or fourteenth century).

Bible (about 1300).

Bible (about 1320).

Bible (about 1280).

Three Bibles of the fourteenth century.

An Old Testament (eleventh century).

One leaf from Samuel (twelfth century).

Thirty Psalters (of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries).

Gospel fragments of the eighth century.

Gospels (Purple Codex, formerly in Hamilton Palace, seventh century).

Gospels (St. Gall Codex, from the Ashburnham Collection, dated 875 A.D.)

Gospels, six codices (from the ninth to the twelfth century).

Portions of the Gospels (twelfth century).

Matthew and Mark (about 1120).

Also one of the fourteenth century.

Apocalypse (eleventh century).

Apocalypse (about 1230).

Apocalypse (fourteenth century).

Two Apocalypses with Beatus' commentary (twelfth century).

The Pierpont Morgan Library has also about three hundred manuscripts of liturgical interest.

Syriac

Haverford College.

The following are listed in *Haverford College Studies*, No. 4:
Gospels in the Malkite character (paper, date not given).
New Testament in Estrangelo (thirteenth century).
Service Book on paper, imperfect at beginning and end.
Two Service Books from the Maronite Church at Besherreh.
Gospels, defective at the beginning (dated 1209).

Union Theological Seminary.

The Seminary has deposited with it the Beirut Codex of the eighth or ninth century containing the Gospels in a Preharklensian version, Acts and Epistles in the Peshito.

Princeton University.

New Testament, (eleventh century) Garrett Deposit.

Columbiá University.

The Apocrypha (paper, incomplete).
New Testament, twelve leaves only, Luke, John and Acts.

Yale University.

New Testament in Estrangelo (dated 305 A.H.).

The Pierpont Morgan Library.

New Testament (about 751).
New Testament (thirteenth century).

Church Missions House, New York.

New Testament (dated 1207).
Lectionary (dated 1276). See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 39, p. 113).

Library of Dr. Isaac M. Yonan.

New Testament, Peshito version (eleventh century).

Colgate University.

Lectionary (sixteenth century).

Some reports for which we looked have not yet come to hand. Perhaps this list will serve as a starting point to be supplemented later.

We have not included the very few Ethiopic, Coptic and Armenian manuscripts that were reported.

For the Committee

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, *Chairman.*

Union Theological Seminary.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Note on Matthew 13 20 and Matt. 6 30 = Luke 12 28.

Seeing recently a large stack of reeds tied in bundles about six inches in diameter for use as fuel, as is the common practice in North China, such a bundle having a regular market price, I was reminded of the words in the parable of the tares, (Matt. 13 30): "I will say to the reapers, Gather up first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them." That the idea was to use them for fuel, and not simply to burn them up in the wasteful American way is confirmed by the passage (Matt. 6 30 = Luke 12 28) referring to "the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven." As the Palestinian oven was heated by a fire inside it (Encyclopedia Biblica, column 605), this "grass" (including in Chinese as in Greek all kinds of herbage, even wild flowers) was apparently as in North China commonly used by the poor for fuel in the preparation of food.

If, as seems probable, conditions in Palestine were somewhat similar to those in China now, these latter passages may be joined with the parable of the woman seeking the lost coin (Lk. 15 8f.), the passages giving the price of sparrows (Matt. 10 29, Lk. 12 6), and others, as indicating Jesus' familiarity with the daily life of the poor.

T'unghsien near Peking DEAN R. WICKES

1074

PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1922.

THE fifty-eighth meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis was called to order by President Arnold at 2.00 p. m. on Thursday, December 28th, 1922 in Marquand Chapel, Yale Divinity School, New Haven.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. Reports of the Corresponding Secretary for 1921, the Corresponding Secretary for 1922 and the Recording Secretary were read and approved. An oral report was made by the Membership Committee, who were released at their request, thanks being expressed by the Society for their work. The report of the Treasurer was read. The President announced the appointment of committees as follows:

To nominate officers for next year, Professors Porter, Peritz and Hinke.

To audit the treasurer's account, Professors Dahl and Fowler.

To prepare memorial resolution, Professor Montgomery.

As committee of Arrangements, Professors Porter, Clay, Torrey and Dahl.

The committee of Arrangements made an oral report.

Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By W. R. Arnold: "Observations on the Origins of Holy Scripture." (Presidential Address.)

By S. Prentice: "Elijah and the Tyrian Alliance."

By C. R. Bowen: "I Fought with Beasts at Ephesus."

By A. T. Clay: "Is the Biblical Creation Story of Babylonian Origin?"

By B. A. Elzas: "The 'Mysterious' Word *Shoef* (Ecclesiastes 1 5), with Some Observations on the Hebrew Language."

By C. C. Torrey: "Mistranslations from Aramaic in the Greek of the Fourth Gospel."

Thursday Evening, December 28. A joint meeting with the Archaeological Institute of America, and the American Philological Association was held at 8.00 p. m. in Osborn Hall. The following illustrated papers were read:

By William Bell Dinsmore: "How the Parthenon was Planned."
By William J. Hinke: "Recent Excavations in Palestine."
By E. K. Rand: "An Evangelary of Tours in the Pierpont Morgan Library."
By T. Leslie Shear: "The 1922 Results at Sardis."

Friday Morning, December 29. The Society convened at about 9.00 a. m. The Auditing Committee reported that they had examined the Treasurer's accounts and found them correct. Their report and the report of the Treasurer were accepted. Report was made of the proceedings of the Council. Their report was accepted, and the persons nominated by them were elected members of the Society. Also on nomination of the Council the following honorary members were elected:

Professor Rudolf Kittel, Ph. D., Leipzig, Germany.
Reverend John Skinner, D. D., Cambridge, England.

Report of the American Schools of Oriental Research was made by Prof. W. J. Moulton, the representative of the Society among the Trustees. An announcement concerning the Zion Research Foundation was made by Mr. J. V. Dittemore. The following memorial resolution submitted by the committee appointed for that purpose was accepted, and the Secretary was instructed to send copies to the relatives of the deceased.

MEMORIAL MINUTE

"In the death of Rev. Dr. James B. Nies, who died in Jerusalem a martyr to his zeal for archaeology, this Society, along with many institutions and associations, has lost a fine scholar, a generous patron, and a modest and delightful gentleman. We deeply mourn his loss and desire to send our sympathy to the members of his family."

Upon motion it was voted that the thanks of the Society be conveyed by the Recording Secretary to Yale University and the Divinity School for their hospitality to us at this time.

The Nominating Committee suggested the following officers for 1923 who were forthwith elected by the Society:

Prof. M. L. Margolis	*President*
Prof. C. R. Bowen	*Vice-President*
Prof. H. J. Cadbury	*Recording Secretary*
Prof. T. J. Meek	*Treasurer*
Prof. K. Fullerton Prof. W. R. Arnold Prof. W. N. Donovan Prof. I. F. Wood Prof. J. A. Bewer	*Associates in Council*
Prof. W. J. Moulton	*Representative among the Trustees of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*

Report of the Committee for cataloguing Biblical manuscripts in America was made orally. Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By B. W. Bacon: "The Reading οἷς οὐδέ in Galatians 2 5."
By Paul Haupt: "Isaiah's Arraignment of Jerusalem."
By R. H. Pfeiffer: "Old Testament Glosses about Idolatry."
By G. R. Berry: "The Prohibition of Images in the Old Testament."
By Elihu Grant: "Luke's Historical Order: Some Recent Criticism."
By A. T. Olmstead: "Yahweh and Ashur."
By J. A. Montgomery: "The Relation of the A-Group and Lucian to Origen's Revision in Daniel."
By M. L. Margolis: "Notes:"
a) "The Closing Verses of Joshua."
b) "οἱ ο' χωρὶς"
c) "Psalm 74 8."

Friday Afternoon, December 29. The Society met at 2.00 p. m. Papers were read and discussed as follows:

By T. J. Meek: "Aaronites and Zadokites."
By J. M. P. Smith: "The Ethical Significance of Isaiah Chapter 53."
By L. B. Paton: "Socialism in the Old Testament."
By Elbert Russell: "Notes on Revelation 10-11."
By David Levine: "The Name-Word Locus in Scriptural Poetry."
By H. J. Cadbury: "Notes on the Speeches in Acts."
By B. A. Elzas: "A Note on Proverbs 25 27."
By Paul Haupt: "The Origin of Libations."
By C. R. Bowen: "Paul's Collection and the Book of Acts."
By Paul Haupt: "The Spear-Thrust at the Crucifixion."

By B. A. Elzas: "A Note on Job 19 25-27, a New Version."
By Paul Haupt: "The Peculiar People."
By B. W. Bacon: "The Date of Mark."

The Society adjourned at 4.45 p. m.

HENRY J. CADBURY, *Recording Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

In spite of the fact that six months have elapsed since the last of the manuscripts for parts 1 and 2 of volume XLI were sent to the printer, the Corresponding Secretary comes to this meeting with empty hands. All the Editorial Board can offer in the way of consolation is the promise of our German printers to have this first double number in your hands before these meetings are over. Beyond doubt they will reach this country shortly after your return home. It is the confident expectation of the Board that you will find these 204 pages of material on Eschatology well worth any wait, however long. The balance of the material for the 1922 volume has already been dispatched.

We must frankly face the fact that printing abroad necessarily involves considerable delay. This problem has been aggravated in the present instance by the fact that the printers wished to have the work on the balance of volume XL, and also on the reprinting of volume XXXIV, well under way before going forward with volume XLI. Inasmuch as the 1921 Board of Editors expects to have this material out of the way very soon, we can expect prompter service in the future—providing only that Europe does not go down in ruin! In view of all the facts, the present Board would strongly urge contributors to send in their material for the 1923 volume at the earliest possible moment.

Prof. Gates of Harvard-Andover has most kindly compiled a complete and accurate index to volumes XXI—XL, which will appear in part 4 of volume XL. Arrangements have been made with Prof. Budde of Marburg, one of our honorary members, to correct the second proof of all our articles. This should expedite publication in the future.

GEORGE DAHL, *Corresponding Secretary.*

TREASURER'S REPORT, 1922

Receipts

Jan.	1, Balance from 1921	$ 873.53
„	5, G. A. Barton, Treasurer	3.70
„	13, Interest	14.66
Mar.	23, Yale University Press	96.16
June	1, Interest	2.25
Dec.	4, Interest	4.03
„	26, Dues to date	985.90
		$ 1980.23

Disbursements

Jan.	4, New First National Bank for M. 20,000	$ 120.00
„	4, Shea Brothers, printing programs	16.50
„	13, Rubber stamp, Treasurer	0.87
„	16, N. Probe, operating lantern	5.00
„	26, Mrs. H. Hitchen, clerical work for treasurer	3.00
Feb.	10, New First National Bank for M. 20,000	115.25
„	28, H. J. Cadbury, expenses	22.36
Mar.	2, Stamped envelopes, Treasurer	10.00
Apr.	17, New First National Bank for M. 20,000	74.25
Aug.	15, O. H. Gates, expense of Index	10.00
Oct.	13, M. L. Margolis, cable to Leipzig	10.00
Dec.	6, M. L. Margolis, editorial expense	35.00
„	20, The Misses Littlefield, clerical work	7.00
„	22, H. J. Cadbury, postage	14.05
„	22, G. Dahl, editorial expense	25.58
„	26, Cash on hand	1511.37
		$ 1980.23

In addition the Society has on deposit in the Deutsche Bank, Berlin, the sum of M. 71429.25, which were purchased to pay for the publication of the 1922 volume of the Journal.

T. J. MEEK, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct, December 28, 1922.

GEORGE DAHL,
HENRY T. FOWLER

REPORT OF RECORDING SECRETARY

The membership of the Society of Biblical Literature appears to be 336 which is an increase of 70 over the number reported last year.

73 Members have joined during the year, a few have resigned or allowed their membership to lapse and the following have deceased:

Walter Drum, joined in 1921, died December 10, 1921.
James B. Nies, joined in 1900, died June 18, 1922.
John M. Longyear, joined in 1922, died May 28, 1922.

There are also eight honorary members—a class to which the Society has made very few additions in recent years, and none since 1913.

Respectfully submitted,

Henry J. Cadbury, *Recording Secretary.*

Dec. 20, 1922.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY[1]

HONORARY MEMBERS

Prof. K. Budde, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
Prof. F. C. Burkitt, M.A., Cambridge, England.
Prof. Ernst von Dobschütz, Halle, Germany.
Prof. Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin, Germany.
Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg, Germany.
Prof. Rudolf Kittel, Ph.D., Leipzig, Germany.
Prof. Marie Joseph Lagrange, Jerusalem (care of M. Gabalda, 90 Rue Bonaparte, Paris).
Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford, England.
Rev. John Skinner, D.D., Cambridge, England.
Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., Aberdeen, Scotland.

ACTIVE MEMBERS[2]

(693) '22 Rev. G. Abbott-Smith, D.D., D.C.L., Westmount, P.Q., Canada.
(628) '21 Rev. Prof. Howard C. Ackerman, B.D., M.A., Nashotah, Wis.
(593) '20 Prof. Arthur Adams, Ph.D., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
(496) '13 Miss Charlotte Adams, 135 E. 52d St., N.Y. City.
(242) '92 Pres. Cyrus Adler, Ph.D., 2041 North Broad St., Phila., Pa.
(731) '22 Rev. Abel Ahlquist, Ph.D., New Britain, Conn.
(576) '17 Wm. Foxwell Albright, Ph.D., American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, Palestine.
(466) '11 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman, Gettysburg, Pa.
(415) '07 Prof. Frederick L. Anderson, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.
(711) '22 Rev. Prof. S. Angus, Ph.D., St. Andrew's College, Sydney, Australia.
(305) '96 Prof. Wm. R. Arnold, Ph.D., 7 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
(724) '22 Rev. Prof. J. Cullen Ayer, Ph.D., S.T.D., 200 St. Mark's Square, Philadelphia, Pa.
(184) '88 Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., 244 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn.

[1] This list has been corrected up to Sept. 1, 1923. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary, H. J. Cadbury, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Mass, of any change of address.

[2] The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

(373) '04 Prof. Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.
(690) '22 Moses Bailey, A.M., 6 Norfolk Terrace, Wellesley, Mass.
(594) '20 Prof. Roland H. Bainton, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
(712) '21 Lieut. C. C. Baker, Box 296, Lancaster, Calif.
(722) '22 Prof. J. F. Balzer, M.A., Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
(210) '91 Prof. George A. Barton, 3725 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(211) '91 Prof. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., 6 Chelsea Sq., N.Y. City.
(614) '21 Prof. Bruce R. Baxter, M.A., Mt. Union College, Alliance, Ohio.
(561) '16 Prof. John W. Beardslee, Jr., Ph.D., D.D., Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N.J.
(694) '22 Prof. Irwin R. Beiler, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
(718) '22 Rev. C. D. Benjamin, Ph.D., 1441 Pine St., Norristown, Pa.
(568) '16 Rev. C. Theodore Benze, Lutheran Seminary, Mt. Airy. Pa.
(570) '16 Prof. Immanuel G. A. Benzinger, Ph.D., Riga, Latvia.
(326) '99 Prof. George R. Berry, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.
(318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.
(618) '21 Pres. James A. Blaisdell, Pomona College, Claremont, Cal.
(613) '21 Prof. F. J. Bliss, 1155 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.
(551) '15 Rev. Joshua Bloch, Ph.D., 346 E. 173th St., N.Y. City.
(604) '20 Rev. P. F. Bloomhardt, Ph.D., 134 E. Delevan St., Buffalo, N.Y.
(751) '23 Father A. M. Bolduc, S.M., S.T.L., Marist College, Brookland, D.C.
(380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, O.
(423) '08 Prof. Clayton R. Bowen, Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.
(370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Ph.D., 289 Fourth Ave., N.Y. City.
(311) '97 Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, 414 Clifton St., Lakewood, N.J.
(569) '16 Mrs. Beatrice A. Brooks, Wellesley, Mass.
(301) '96 Prof. Wm. A. Brown, D.D., 3041 Broadway, N.Y. City.
(702) '22 Prof. John Richard Brown, Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N.Y.
(102) '84 Prof. M. D. Buell, Garrison Hall, Boston 17, Mass.
(719) '22 Prof. Walter E. Bundy, Ph.D., De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.
(586) '18 Prof. Ernest Ward Burch, Ph.D., Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
(747) '23 Rev. Millar Burrows, 107 Carmel St., New Haven, Conn.
(91) '83 Prof. E. D. Burton, D.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(554) '15 Prof. R. Butin, Catholic University, Washington, D.C.
(589) '18 Prof. Moses Buttenwieser, Ph.D., 252 Loraine Ave., Clifton, Cincinnati, O.
(471) '11 Prof. Henry J. Cadbury, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Mass.
(631) '21 Rev. James T. Carlyon, A.M., Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Col.

(472) '11 Prof. Henry Beach Carré, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
(746) '23 William David Carroll, B.A., American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem.
(632) '21 William Owen Carver, Th.D., D.D., LL.D., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.
(564) '16 I. M. Casanowicz, Ph.D., National Museum, Washington, D. C.
(392) '06 Prof. Shirley J. Case, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
(222) '91 Rev. James L. Cheney, Ph.D., Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, Cleveland, O.
(595) '20 Prof. Edward Chiera, Ph.D., 1538 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
(277) '95 Prof. Francis A. Christie, D.D., Meadville Theological School, Meadville, Pa.
(369) '03 Prof. Calvin M. Clark, Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
(414) '07 Prof. Albert T. Clay, Ph.D., 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn.
(68) '82 Rev. W. H. Cobb, D.D., Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.
(523) '14 C. P. Coffin, 1744-208 S. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
(606) '20 Rabbi Simon Cohen, P. O. Box 473, Springfield, Ohio.
(686) '22 Rabbi Simon R. Cohen, 1421 Ditmas Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
(662) '22 David C. Cook, Elgin, Ill.
(615) '21 Rev. Francis T. Cooke, 673 Jefferson Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
(582) '18 Rev. George S. Cooke, Houlton, Me.
(714) '22 Rev. M. Coover, D.D., Lutheran Theol. Sem., Gettysburg, Pa.
(390) '06 Rev. Wm. M. Crane, Ph.D., Richmond, Mass.
(296) '96 Prof. Harlan Creelman, Ph.D., 118 North St., Auburn, N.Y.
(498) '13 Prof. D. E. Culley, Ph. D., 1120 Pemberton Ave., N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
(573) '16 Charles G. Cumming, B.D., Bangor Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.
(401) '07 Miss M. Elizabeth Czarnomska, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.
(499) '13 Prof. Geo. Dahl, Ph.D, 1112 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn.
(645) '21 Miss Clara W. Davidson, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
(526) '15 Prof. Israel Davidson, 531 W. 123d St., N.Y. City.
(451) '10 Prof. Richard Davidson, Ph.D., Knox College, Toronto, Can.
(675) '22 Prof. John D. Davis, Ph.D., 58 Mercer St., Princeton, N.J.
(705) '22 M. E. Davis, Th.M., D.D., Box 178, Brownwood, Tex.
(756) '23 Prof. W. Hersey Davis, Ph.D., Norton Hall, Louisville, Ky.
(500) '13 Prof. Frank Leighton Day, Ashland, Va.
(458) '10 Prof. Thomas F. Day, Box 126a, R.F.D., San Rafael, Calif.
(633) '21 Prof. John Pitt Deane, M.A., Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.
(524) '14 Prof. Irwin Hoch DeLong, Ph.D., 523 West James St., Lancaster, Pa.
(121) '84 Prof. F. B. Denio, D.D., Bangor, Me.
(723) '22 Prof. H. T. De Wolfe, D.D., Acadia Univ., Wolfville, N.S.
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St. Joseph's Seminary,	Yonkers, N.Y.
State Library,	Albany, N.Y.
State Library,	Concord, N.H.
State Library,	Lansing, Mich.
State Library,	Sacramento, Cal.
Syracuse University Library,	Syracuse, N.Y.
Trowbridge Reference Library,	New Haven, Conn.
Union Theological Seminary,	N.Y. City.
University of California,	Berkeley, Calif.
University of Illinois,	Urbana, Ill.
University of Michigan Library,	Ann Arbor, Mich.
University of Toronto Library,	Toronto, Canada.
University of Wisconsin Library,	Madison, Wis.
Vanderbilt University, Wesley Hall,	Nashville, Tenn.
Wellesley College Library,	Wellesley, Mass.
Wesley Ball Library,	Nashville, Tenn.
Wesleyan University,	Middletown, Conn.
Western State Normal School,	Kalamazoo, Mich.
Western Theological Seminary, Ridge Ave.,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Williams College,	Williamstown, Mass.
Yale University Library,	New Haven, Conn.

LIST OF EXCHANGES

(To be sent to Professor George Dahl, 1112 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn., and ultimately to go to the American School of Archæology in Jerusalem.)

American Journal of Religion, Univ. of Chicago,	Chicago, Ill.
Bibelforskaren,	Upsala, Sweden.
Biblica,	Pontificium Institutum Biblicum de Urbe, Rome, Italy.
Biblische Zeitschrift,	Freiburg i.B., Germany.

Expository Times,	Edinburgh, Scotland.
International Index to Periodicals, 958 University Ave.,	New York City.
Journal of Theological Studies,	London, England.
Journal of Transactions of the Victoria Institute,	London, England.
Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift,	Amsterdam, Holland.
Princeton Theological Review,	Princeton, N.J.
Review and Expositor (So. Bapt.),	Louisville, Ky.
Revue Biblique Internationale, 90 Rue Bonaparte,	Paris, France.
Das Land der Bibel Theologie der Gegenwart Theologischer Literaturbericht Theologische Literaturzeitung Theologische Studien und Kritiken Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.	Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, Berlin W 2, Schloss.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

This association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

BY-LAWS

I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

Resolved: That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, *for the purpose of presentation*, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of $1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.

231

United Theological Seminary Library

FOR REFERENCE
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